

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW.

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- ART. I.—1. *Liber Ecclesiasticus ; an Authentic Statement of the Revenues of the Established Church, presented to Parliament by the command of His Majesty, June 22, 1835.*
2. *Returns to Parliament respecting the Commutation of Tithes from 1838 to 1848.*
3. *Mr. Horsman's Speeches on Ecclesiastical Affairs.* London : Seeley. 1849.

WE are about to enter on a confessedly difficult task, which nothing could have induced us to undertake but a profound sense of its importance. It would be more to our taste to debate the Anti-state-church question on religious grounds, but we waive our private preferences in deference to what we deem a public duty. The present stage of the Anti-state-church movement renders it necessary to consider in detail the political aspects of the question. These are at once multifarious, and of vast importance, and have imparted to the question its national character, constantly reminding us of the detriment it would sustain by the slightest infusion of mere sectarianism. We have been too keenly alive to whatever affected the progress of reform and general enlightenment, the impartial administration of justice and the free action of liberal institutions, not to be sensible of the injurious influence which Church Establishments have exerted. Their

special province would seem to be the patronage and perpetuation of all kinds of abuses. The impolicy of allowing civil governments to make religion subservient to their purposes, is evidenced by facts, which, if generally known, would lead to the unanimous condemnation of State-churchism by the friends of popular liberty. Public wrongs are speedily redressed by an enlightened people, but the removal of national grievances can never be effected, unless popular sympathies are enlisted on the side of justice and truth.

The financial part of the State-church question, though of great importance, has been as yet but little examined. The advocates of State connexion have designedly kept it out of sight; for it would have been fatal to the *prestige* of national establishments, were the subject of clerical support put too prominently forward; and, strange to say, it has received very slight attention from their opponents; so that the information possessed respecting it is meagre and unsatisfactory. This is wholly unaccountable, when it is remembered that the union of Church and State is purely a financial compact, the conditions of which must be satisfactory to the Church as she would not otherwise submit to State control. This connexion must instantly terminate, when the one refuses to give, or the other to accept, pecuniary aid. The anomalous position of the Episcopal Church in this country is admitted by all parties, and has occasioned bitter lamentation amongst its adherents. What has reduced it to this condition, but the dominancy of the State, acquired and maintained by the bestowment of public funds? The State exacts submission where it bestows favours, and the Church which takes its pay must yield to its authority. Clerical subserviency is an indispensable condition of State support, and the withdrawal or relinquishment of the latter, is the sole means of the Church's restoration to the dignity of spiritual independence. The subject of financial aid lies therefore at the root of the whole matter. It constitutes the real bond of union between the Church and the State. Apart from it, no union would exist. A church unpurchased and unpurchasable, would not lend itself to the accomplishment of mere political purposes. Bribery alone could reduce any church to a state of political bondage. The separation of Church and State implies, therefore, that the application of public funds to ecclesiastical purposes should be discontinued; and it must be of some importance to ascertain the extent to which statesmen have alienated national resources entrusted to their care, from the objects to which they should have been restricted. To this inquiry we proceed, believing that the popular demand for a full restoration of Church property to secular uses, will be expedited by a disclosure of its enormous amount. The national advantages

which would result from its judicious management and equitable distribution, are incalculable. Let the people once perceive them, and statesmen and priests must desist from making merchandise of religion for their selfish purposes.

One difficulty attending the investigation of the subject, arises from the variety of sources whence the income of the Church is supplied. A separate examination of these is necessary to ascertain the amount which each contributes, and the materials for conducting these inquiries are not in all cases readily accessible. Owing to the exemption of Church property for so long a time from all public supervision, its details are involved in darkness and complexity. Through these it may be difficult to grope our way, but any labour in doing so will be amply rewarded, should we be able to give them distinctness of outline, and to assign to each its proper magnitude. Meanwhile, the obscurity resting on the whole subject, suggests the description which Spenser has given of the house of Mammon :—

‘ Both roof, and floor, and walls, were all of gold,
But overgrown with dust and old decay,
And hid in darkness that none could behold
The hue thereof.’

The costliness of the structure was but ill-concealed by the dimness which overhung its interior arrangements.

The larger proportion of the ecclesiastical income consists of tithes. They are the tenth part of the annual produce of land, and of the yearly increase arising from stock upon land, and from the personal industry of the inhabitants. They were payable formerly in kind, and consequently varied as the profits of agricultural, or other kinds of industry, were small or great, and their amount, owing to this fluctuation, could not be very accurately determined. There were means, however, of fixing the limits within which such variations were confined; and though it might be strictly true that the clergy could not state exactly their average incomes, yet with ordinary care they might have avoided the glaring mistakes of which a comparison of their returns to Parliament in 1835 with those since made under the Tithe Commutation Act, convicts them. But on this we shall dwell in its proper place.

There are different methods of computing the amount of Church property in tithe, and as these are entirely independent of each other, the correspondence of their results is conclusive evidence of their being very near the truth. For instance :—

Whenever the total produce of the land can be ascertained, the tithe, which bears a fixed proportion to it, can be easily determined. This proportion is between one-fifteenth and one-twenty

tieth of the whole ; for two-thirds of the produce only being titheable, one-fifteenth of the total is the utmost to which the clergy can lay claim ; and as their exactions have not been usually below what they were entitled to demand, one-twentieth is certainly the lowest at which their receipts should be rated. Now the total annual value of the agricultural produce of England and Wales as estimated by Mr. M'Culloch, in his statistical account of the British Empire, and by Mr. Porter, in his work on 'The Progress of the Nation,' is £132,500,000, of which the clergy must receive, according to the preceding calculation, from £6,000,000 to £8,000,000. The minimum of tithe, therefore, as computed by this method, exceeds six millions sterling. Again :—There are upwards of 30,000,000 of acres under cultivation, of which 20,000,000 only are subject to clerical tithe. From the returns made to the agricultural board in answer to the inquiries which it instituted, we learn that the average tithe per acre was, in 1790, 4s. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. ; in 1803, 5s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. ; and in 1813, 7s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. The state of agriculture in England has considerably improved since then. This is evident from the great advance of rents which has taken place within the last fifty years, and from the increased production necessary to meet the wants of the manufacturing and commercial population, which has multiplied so rapidly, while the rural population has remained almost stationary. Consequently, no objection lies against the adoption of the rate of tithe in 1813, which being 7s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., the entire amount of tithe calculated in this way would be £7,037,500. Thus from both these methods it appears, that the cost to the country, for the services of the parochial clergy, in tithe alone, is upwards of six millions.

But, further still, the amount of tithe bears a certain proportion to the rental, which may be fairly estimated at about one-third. Bearblock, in his treatise on tithes, says, 'Any sum not exceeding one-third the rent may be considered a reasonable payment in lieu of all tithes arising on a farm, for this plain reason, that unless the occupier can make the produce of his farm return nearer four rents than three, such farm cannot be worth his holding.' The result deduced from this mode of computation is much the same as that stated above. These methods, however, are now superseded by the returns of the clergy themselves, obtained under circumstances a brief sketch of which will not be out of place, and may be instructive. In 1834-5, the clergy were required to make returns of their incomes, and of other matters connected with their respective parishes. According to these returns, the total gross income of benefices in England and Wales amounted to £3,251,159, and the net income to £3,055,451. No slight surprise was excited on the publication

of these reports, at the smallness of the income announced. Many believed the Church to be in an impoverished condition, from which Parliament should rescue it by liberal aid.

Their indignation was aroused at the false charge of enormous wealth being pertinaciously preferred against it. Some, however, pronounced the returns to be grossly inaccurate. Relying on information, personally obtained, and on the calculations thence deduced, they could not lightly abandon the conclusions arrived at. The clergy were known to be deeply interested, just at that time, in removing from the public mind the impression that Church property was more than sufficient for the honourable maintenance of the national religion. The Church had lost all public confidence. Its corruptions and glaring secularity had alienated the affection and respect of the people. Its prelates, as arrogant in pretensions as they were deficient in piety; its clerical pluralists, who disgraced the sanctity of their profession by the shameless practice of simony; the notorious rapacity of these men, and their intolerant Toryism, excited disgust, and brought the Church into general odium. At such a juncture, it was somewhat alarming that an inquiry into ecclesiastical incomes should be commenced; and it was still more alarming that the inquiry should be instituted in compliance with popular demand. There was a general conviction that a considerable surplus would remain after a handsome provision had been made for all the expenses of public worship, and for even a larger class of clerical stipendiaries than existed; and projects for its appropriation to secular purposes were freely debated. While under the influence of the panic which this state of things excited, the clergy were required to make their returns. Though the reputation of being wealthy is sometimes advantageous, it was felt in this instance to be exceedingly inconvenient, and that the sooner it could be got rid of the better. It was generally believed that the clergy would embrace the opportunity of removing an impression so injurious to the interests of the Church, and that even the conscientious would overlook the dishonesty of making false returns, when the preservation of its property demanded that the whole truth should not be stated. On this ground, therefore, the public were suspicious of the accuracy of these clerical returns. But there were other reasons for questioning their credibility. The selection of the persons who were to compose the Ecclesiastical Commission, and to whose sole conduct all these inquiries were to be entrusted, did not promise much for the revelation of anything respecting the revenues of the Church, or the mode of their administration, which it would be politic to keep concealed. By the royal com-

mission, issued 4th February, 1835, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London, Lincoln, and Gloucester, the Lord Chancellor, the First Lord of the Treasury (Sir Robert Peel), and several members of the Government, with other laymen, all of whom were required to subscribe a declaration that they were members of the Established Church, were appointed Commissioners, and directed 'to consider the state of the several dioceses in England and Wales with reference to the amount of their revenues, and the more equal distribution of episcopal duties, &c.' Every one knew that it was a palpable absurdity to expect from such men a strict compliance with these injunctions; and they were themselves fully aware that it was not intended that they should make too minute inquiries, in respect to such exceedingly delicate matters, or insist upon over-exactness in the returns presented to them.

All these circumstances combined to bring the clerical returns into discredit; and the result of previous calculations was still regarded as a truthful and unexaggerated statement of fact. Its full verification, however, was not far remote. The Tithe Commutation Act became law in 1838. Its introduction was principally owing to the constant recurrence of parochial squabbles between the clergy and their parishioners, for the prevention of which the interference of the legislature became necessary. The frequent and unseemly collisions of the clergy and their people were felt to be so discreditable, as to render the interposition of Parliament imperative. The Church in this truly schismatical state required Government interposition to compose its troubles and protect its rights, and a restoration to quiet was effected by making some change in the nature of its property. Tithes, which were formerly a tax, became a rent-charge, and payments in kind were exchanged for payments in money. This substitution compelled the clergy to reconsider their average incomes, and owing to the influence of motives the reverse of those which actuated them in preparing the returns of 1834, they ascertained that they were considerably higher than they had then reported. The discrepancy indeed is very remarkable; their incomes had more than doubled since 1834. History furnishes no example of any property having so rapidly increased in value. The rent-charge amounts already to nearly four millions sterling, though little more than one-half the tithe has been commuted; and the various reports presented to Parliament since the act passed, exhibit demonstrative proof of the falsehood and fraud practised by the clergy, when it served their purpose to delude the country. We have gleaned the following specimens from an innumerable host, with which our inquiry has made us

familiar, and they will suffice to account for the augmentation of value which tithe property has undergone since 1834 :—

BENEFICE.	COUNTY.	Net Income Returned in 1834.	Present Rent-charge.
Stow-cum-Quy	Cambridge .	£52	£530
Cam . . .	Gloucester . .	95	500
Marston . .	Hereford . .	55	211
Gladdesden .	Hertford . .	220	750
Belgrave . .	Leicester . .	146	456
Northorpe . .	Lincoln . .	48	418
Kingsbury . .	Middlesex . .	46	500
Tottenham . .	Middlesex . .	309	800
Llanwnog . .	Montgomery .	47	220
Kirklington .	Nottingham .	49	500

Our readers will readily believe that some manœuvring was necessary to fix the rent-charges at so high an amount in these and similar instances, and yet we have been told by a clergyman that the farmers were all satisfied with their bargain. No doubt the clergy were so with theirs. As for the farmers, we are disposed to exclaim, *O fortunati Agricollæ si sua bona norint.*

The foregoing facts and calculations give a high degree of probability to our assertion, that when the tithes shall be commuted the aggregate rent-charge will not fall short of six millions sterling. The average income, therefore, of each of the 10,718 benefices, exceeds £500 annually, and these, it should moreover be remembered, are monopolized by little more than 7,000 incumbents. Truly ecclesiastical preferments are not inaptly called benefices, or livings, and it will no longer seem wonderful that parsons should be, under such circumstances, what Fuller has quaintly described them, ‘less in blessing than in bulk.’

The revenues of the Church receive further augmentation by the incomes derived from estates belonging to spiritual dignitaries and ecclesiastical corporations. These estates were originally bestowed under the superstitious notion that Heaven could be propitiated by such donations, and that a man’s safety hereafter might be secured by the consecration of his property. Their value was entirely unknown until the Commission of Inquiry into the Ecclesiastical Revenues, under Henry VIII., had completed its returns, upon which he founded his scheme for the creation of new bishoprics. In accordance with that scheme, a new diocesan distribution took place, and the value of episcopal estates in the various sees was determined. Such a valuation was most politic and seasonable ; it was a clear intimation to all spiritual functionaries that the property held by them

was remuneration for services rated at a definite price, and that no right of ownership could belong to the Church, since the uncontrolled disposal of its property was vested in the State. It would have been well if, in the subsequent administration of ecclesiastical affairs, this subject had received a larger share of attention. Though Henry may be justly censured for the incompleteness of his reformation, and his violent resentment of the slightest opposition to his will, he certainly deserves some praise for having originated practical measures for the regulation of ecclesiastical revenues, which would, with proper modification, have furnished the State at all times with an accurate account of its expenditure in relation to the Church. The policy of our Government, however, in regard to their favourite institution, has been rather indulgent than judicious; and their culpable neglect of the management of its estates compels those who wish to learn their amount, to refer back to the period of the compilation of the 'Liber Regis.' This book is a record of the value of monastic, episcopal, and cathedral property, of parochial livings, and of ecclesiastical revenues in the time of Henry VIII.

Its general accuracy has been admitted by all parties. For a long time the tenths and first-fruits, which were annexed to the Crown in perpetuity by Henry and Elizabeth, were determined according to the valuation assigned in it to the various spiritual preferments. No other official document has taken so extensive a survey of the whole subject of ecclesiastical finance; and if we could precisely ascertain how much the value of Church property has subsequently advanced, it would supply the means of forming a truer estimate of the real annual profits of all spiritual preferments than can now be arrived at, taking the voluminous reports of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners solely as our guide. Spite of clerical subterfuge or fraud, this portion of the national revenue would be then seen in its full dimensions. The rate of advance has been variously stated. If the returns of 1831 were correct, episcopal and cathedral property had improved in value up to that time only sevenfold, the net aggregate income derived therefrom being announced at £435,046. But the incomes of some of the dignitaries were known to be considerably more than such a rate of increase would account for; and several prelates, when negotiating for large parliamentary loans, which could only be obtained on condition of the episcopal estates being equal to their repayment within a specified period, acknowledged themselves in the receipt of incomes which proved these estates to have increased in value from twelve to fourteen-fold. But in these instances, they were only required to prove their title to an amount of property such as would guarantee the

repayment of these loans ; and as we may be assured that these politic prelates would communicate no more than the necessity of the case demanded, it is an allowable supposition that the annual profits of their sees were not fully stated. It has been calculated that property in general has increased in value within the last three centuries, more than twenty-fold ; and as the shortness of the leases under which Church property is held enables its proprietors to keep it constantly in the market, and therefore to take advantage of any advance in their favour, it cannot be considered unfair to assign to it a rate of increase equivalent to that which other property has experienced. ‘The valuation of the sees in the “Liber Regis,”’ says Mr. Howitt, ‘was made when labour was a penny a day ; now it is twenty-four pence ; so that if we place pounds instead of shillings, that is, an advance of twenty-fold, we shall make a moderate calculation according to the increase in the value of general property, and if of general property, why not that of the Church ? I have applied the scale to various parochial livings, whose income is well known, and the result was wonderfully accurate.’

The following extract from one of Mr. Horsman’s speeches on Church Reform, proves that this calculation cannot be far from the truth. Speaking on the subject of temporalities and Church leases, August 2, 1848, he says :—

‘I believe few people have any idea of the value of the episcopal and capitular estates. No return of them has ever been made, nor is it likely to be, unless the Government institute that inquiry for which I am now asking, and on which Parliament has a right to insist. It is known, however, that these estates are immense, and that a very small portion of their rental comes into the coffers of the Church. They are leased on a system which makes the life-interest of the bishop or chapter for the time being, at variance with the permanent interests of the Church, and compels them to impoverish their successors in order to sustain themselves. I will not further describe the system, but will show you its results. When the Committee on Church leases was sitting in 1838, it attempted to get a return of the actual value of these leased estates. From some of the prelates and dignitaries, they did receive them—others indignantly refused any information. But those that did return them, were sufficient to establish the whole case :—

The present Archbishop of Canterbury, then Bishop of					
Chester, returned his income at	-	-	-	-	£ 3,951
But the rental of his leased estate was	-	-	-	-	16,236
					<hr/>
Difference	-	-	-	-	£12,285
					<hr/>
The late Archbishop gave his income at	-	-	-	-	22,216
Rental	-	-	-	-	52,000
					<hr/>
Difference	-	-	-	-	£30,000

The late Archbishop of York, income	-	-	-	-	13,798
Rental	-	-	-	-	41,030
Difference	-	-	-	-	£27,232

‘Some others were also given, but those I have cited suffice to establish at least a strong *prima facie* evidence of what I contend for ; but I hold in my hand a Parliamentary document which works it out at greater length ; it is the calculation made by Mr. Finlayson, for Lord Melbourne’s Cabinet, in 1838, and is founded on the returns of the Commissioners of Church Inquiry. Mr. Finlayson takes the Report of the Inquiry Commissioners, who give the annual sum derived from fines on Episcopal and Collegiate estates at £260,000. The rental of these estates he takes to be £1,400,000, and he states this to be a very low estimate, and gives his reasons for so stating it. I observe, also, that that estimate is adopted by the lessees, and in a recent publication put forth by them, the gross value of these estates is calculated at £35,000,000.’

Thus, on various grounds, we are justified in believing that the Church derives from this source an income of one million and a half. It is true that the returns of our episcopal dignitaries are irreconcilable with this supposition. These, however, abound with such contradictions, that they are worthless for the purpose for which they were given. They are now valuable only as furnishing incontestable proof of the unscrupulousness of our higher spiritual functionaries in dealing with matters of finance, or of their incompetency to manage such extensive properties as have been injudiciously entrusted to their care. By a collation of the returns successively made within the last twenty years, we find that there has been a deliberate understatement of the revenue of those dioceses, the incomes of which were to be curtailed in order to provide for the augmentation of poorer sees. For instance, when the Archbishop of Canterbury wanted permission from Parliament, in 1830, to borrow money for the repairs, enlargement, and decoration of his archiepiscopal palaces, his average income was stated by his advocate, Dr. Lushington, to be at least £32,000 ; but when he was required to furnish returns to Parliament in the following year, this was reduced by £10,000.

About the same time the representations of the Bishop of London induced the Commissioners to assign to his see the annual value of £12,204, and he expressed his apprehension that its income would suffer still further diminution. It is scarcely credible that he should have seriously anticipated such a result. His metropolitan estate occupies the whole of that immense angle running up to Hyde Park-square, Westbourne-terrace, and Kensall New Town, down to Oxford and Cambridge-squares, being flanked by the Edgeware-road on one side, and the Ux-

bridge-road on the other. At the time that these predictions of decrease and loss, with respect to the entire property of the see, were made, an Act of Parliament had actually been obtained by the Bishop, to facilitate the erection of the vast mass of buildings which has arisen there during the last ten years; and which it is calculated, will secure to the future holders of the see an income of not less than £100,000. Now these statements have been successively repeated within the last twenty years; and even in 1843, when a considerable part of this prospective wealth had been actually realized, the Bishop, if we may judge from his own returns, had derived no personal advantage from it, his average income still amounting only to £12,400.

We might go through the whole list of episcopal returns, and should find discrepancies of a similar, though not of so palpably disreputable a character. We repeat our conviction that the value of the estates, under proper management, would yield an income exceeding a million and a half; and of this we might furnish additional proof, if such were needed. Of this enormous sum the episcopal bench, consisting now of twenty-seven persons, receives about one-third; the remainder being enjoyed by the spiritual corporations, which have been appropriately called 'the rotten boroughs of the Church.'

It might be reasonably expected that, such ample provision having been secured, the clergy would have refrained from exacting further remuneration for the religious services they perform. History, however, proves them to have been men of 'unbounded stomachs,' and that they should, therefore, have been fruitful in contrivances for making some special exercises of the spiritual functions available for the exaction of fresh payments, will scarcely excite surprise. The success of such contrivances, however, entails censure on the State. It has been guilty of excessive negligence in not peremptorily prohibiting all demands for additional recompense for clerical ministrations, which it had already purchased at so munificent a price. The State ought to have imposed stringent restrictions on the gratification of clerical cupidity. Even some of the most zealous advocates of State connexion strongly insist upon the necessity of such restriction. The Rev. Hugh M'Neile contends that it was indispensable to the stability of civil government, that a clergy teaching the doctrines of apostolical succession and sacramental efficacy, so favourable to the most powerful propensions of the clerical character, avarice and ambition, should be induced by an ample legal maintenance to abandon the pursuit of wealth and influence, and to relinquish all right to an independent exercise of their powers of acquisition. 'The civil magistrate's only refuge,' he says, 'from the thralldom of ecclesiastical tyranny, lies in some

such mutually regulating alliance with the clergy as will secure to them certain safe and manageable privileges, in lieu of an indefinite power of aggression which they consent to sacrifice. We claim such an alliance, then, on behalf of the civil government for the security of its liberties; and on behalf of the clergy of the Church-visible, not for their temporal aggrandisement (as many ignorantly suppose), but for their salutary restraint and comparative purity; in order that the temporal supremacy, which would otherwise be inevitably at their option, may not be allowed to tempt them into tyranny.' It would seem, then, that the civil magistrate was obliged, by a political necessity, to stuff clerical avarice to repletion, that he might thereby confine its inordinate appetency within convenient limits.

He has been, however, overreached by clerical artifice, of which an instance is afforded in the conversion of surplice fees and Easter offerings into a settled portion of the ecclesiastical revenue. The former of these were originally presents to the clergy on the occasions of baptisms, marriages, burials, and such like, bestowed chiefly by the wealthy; the latter were oblations usually made at the various festivals. Both were at first voluntary offerings; they were soon exacted as a right, though this, being equivalent to the sale of spiritual ministrations, was condemned as simony by various œcumenical councils; and subsequently, when Church and State played into each other's hands, were enforced under the sanction of civil authority. The English Establishment is the only Protestant Church which has persisted in these exactions; there is scarcely a religious service which does not insure to its ministers the payment of a fee; and thereby a general prostitution of its sacred ordinances has ensued, which has brought on them scandal and disgrace. The amount of these exactions exceeds half a million. The Rev. Dr. Cove computes the surplice fees alone at about £40 annually for each parish; but his estimates are well known to have been generally below the truth. The author of 'Essays on the Church,' in the last edition of his work, calculates that nearly a million of the entire income received by the parochial clergy was composed of 'Easter offerings, surplice fees, and various small endowments;' and we are justified, therefore, in assigning to the items under our immediate consideration, the value of £600,000 annually.

The value of parsonages and the glebe lands attached to them has not been officially determined. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners have expressly declared, in their 'First General Report,' that glebe-houses and premises were not considered by them as sources of income, and we are obliged, therefore, to seek for information as to their number and value from other quarters. A writer in the 'Quarterly Review,' some years since, stated that

there were 8,000 glebes, which he valued at £20 each. This computation did not include the parsonages, and by other omissions and subtractions, he pared down his estimate to the very lowest amount. An average value of £30 would be nearer, though not fully up to the truth. The total annual income, therefore, which the clergy derive from this source is near a quarter of a million.

The revenues that have been appropriated to the support of chapels of ease, form another item of clerical emolument. They have been computed at about £100,000 annually; perpetual curacies being included under the denomination of chapels of ease.

The State has thus munificently provided an annual income, amounting to nearly nine millions, for the ostensible purpose of securing the religious instruction and edification of the people. It is distributed amongst the clergy for their performance of public religious ministrations; their respective portions are salaries received from the State as its stipendiaries, and these salaries constitute the direct remuneration for the services which they render. But there are various other sources of emolument to which, as functionaries of the National Church, they have access, which must be taken into account in order to form a correct estimate of the actual amount of ecclesiastical revenue. There are many posts of distinction and of substantial pecuniary advantage, created by zealous adherents of the Church, whose voluntary efforts for the propagation of their peculiar tenets have not been paralyzed by the deadening influence of an establishment, and who, having had the burden of supporting their own sect shifted from themselves upon others, were at full liberty to devote what they thought right to bestow for religious purposes, to the erection of new clerical preferments. There are lecture-ships, for instance, supported by endowments or by voluntary subscriptions amongst parishioners. These are about three hundred and fifty in number, and augment the incomes of the clergy by £50,000. There are also chaplaincies in connexion with public institutions, corporate bodies, commercial companies, and embassies; besides which there are army and navy chaplains: the cost of the latter alone is at the present about £14,000 a year. There are also the domestic chaplaincies of the nobility and gentry, and the entire amount which flows through these channels into the ecclesiastical exchequer may be fairly put down at £25,000. It should not be forgotten, in speaking of these minor sources of profit to the clergy, that wherever emolument is attached to the discharge of the duties of a secretary, trustee, or librarian, these gentlemen usually contrive to secure their own appointment to the post.

The public charities next demand attention, as they have largely contributed to the maintenance of Church ascendancy, and have considerably augmented, by their funds, the ecclesiastical revenue. Many of them were founded before the Reformation, with the benevolent design of providing sound education for the poorer classes. A large number date their origin from the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth. The property belonging to charities and religious houses was applied, according to the provisions of a statute of Edward VI., to the endowment of grammar and other schools; and private individuals, stimulated by laudable zeal for the education of the people, devoted considerable property to similar purposes. A desire to increase the influence, and ensure the complete supremacy, of the Church, imparted a strong sectarian tinge to all the foundations of that period, whether private or public. No one was eligible to the mastership of a grammar, or, indeed, of any school, without a bishop's license, and the religious instruction imparted was required to be in all cases accordant with the principles of the Church established. And so it continues down to the present time. According to the form of the ordinary's license, the masters of these foundations must subscribe 'to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion of the United Church of England and Ireland, and to the three articles of the thirty-sixth canon of 1603, and to all things contained in them;' as well as 'a declaration of conformity to the liturgy of the United Church of England and Ireland as is now by law established.' These declarations and subscriptions being indispensable, the masters have usually been clergymen, and whatever educational advantages were to be obtained in connexion with these schools, have been enjoyed exclusively by members of the Established Church. Indeed, the whole administration of these charities has fallen into the hands of the clergy, who have effected the complete appropriation of their various endowments to their own use. Always reserving for themselves posts of honour and emolument, they have filled the inferior situations with their subordinates, and have made the patronage arising from these institutions subservient to selfish and sectarian purposes.

It is well known that the public confidence which entrusted these charities to clerical management has been flagrantly abused; with this point, however, we have at present no concern. What we wish to insist on now, is, that we are fully warranted in considering these schools as an integral portion of the establishment from the intimate connexion with it which they sustain; and that these funds consequently may be fairly regarded as a part of the revenue of the Church. The endowments for education yield a total income of not less than £1,500,000 per annum. The incomes

of the universities, grammar-schools, and minor public charities, are all comprised in this estimate, which has been formed, as far as practicable, according to the published reports of the Commissioners of 'Inquiry concerning the Charities in England and Wales for the Education of the Poor,' whose labours were brought to a close in 1837. Of this enormous sum, it is computed that fully one-third is consumed in clerical salaries, while the remainder, instead of providing, according to the original design, instruction for the *poor* alone, supplies cheap education for the sons of the aristocracy and the middle classes who are members of the Established Church. If the Government and the Church had shown any disposition to restore these ample endowments to their equitable uses, the new-born zeal evinced by both for popular education would have possibly excited less suspicion and alarm. The following extract from 'The Black Book of England,' published by Michell in the course of 1847, demonstrates the sacerdotal character of the universities :—

'The total number of fellows at Oxford is 557; at Cambridge, 431. They are all, we believe, within determinate periods (the terms varying in different colleges) after commencing master of arts, required to take priests' orders; all the colleges being founded more or less on the principle of sacerdotal fellowship. This part of the system is important to Dissenters, who, with reason, complain that they are excluded from the national education. Supposing that the existing barrier of subscription was removed, it would only admit them to the vain and empty honour of taking degrees; the solid and substantial reward of fellowships would be out of their reach by reason of the obligation to be in holy orders. . . . That which constantly fixes the attention in the present government and educational system of the national universities, is the predominance of ecclesiastical authority. A kind of theocracy governs in both universities. All the directive power, both at Oxford and Cambridge, appears to be vested in clergymen, or at least, in those who have taken theological degrees.'

As to the revenues of Oxford and Cambridge, the author says :—

'In common with all ancient endowments, they have been augmented in value by the extraordinary progress of the nation in wealth and productive industry. What the amount may be has never been officially communicated, but a very important statement on the subject was made at Newcastle to the British Association for the Advancement of Science, by the Rev. H. L. Jones, M.A., and Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.

'According to this gentleman's statement, the following are the incomes of the two universities :—Oxford, £283,998; Cambridge, £457,005; the total, £741,003.'

But all this does not satisfy ecclesiastical rapacity. Parliamen-

tary grants, town assessments, and church-building Acts, are other sources of plentiful supply, which it has managed to open up, but which we now merely enumerate, as we wish to bring this dry investigation to a close, and must not altogether omit the consideration of church-rates,—a portion of ecclesiastical income which is, and has ever been, a fruitful source of parochial strife and clerical oppression. It is applied to defray the expenses of keeping the churches and chapels in repair, and of the public worship therein, and until lately, could not be raised in any parish, unless laid by a majority of the parishioners. The precise period when the levy of this tax became matter of general obligation, it is impossible to determine; but its imposition supplies additional evidence of the fraudulent and encroaching spirit by which the clerical body has been uniformly actuated. In the original distribution of tithes, provision was made for the very purposes for which this tax is raised. The clergy were formerly entitled to only one-third of the tithes, and the remainder was to be applied in equal proportion to the repairs of churches, and to the support of the poor. Though this division soon ceased to be insisted on, there is abundant proof of its being regarded as obligatory during the whole period of papal authority. At the Reformation, the clergy were allowed to appropriate the entire tithes to themselves, and the legislature shifted upon the laity the burdens of supporting the poor and repairing the churches. With respect to the latter burden, however, the laity were empowered to decide whether, in any particular instance, a rate should be levied or not; and in all cases, the majority of the votes of rate-paying parishioners was essential to the validity of the rate. This right of refusing a rate was generally supposed to belong to the majority, until the late decision of Lord Denman, which, unless reversed by higher authority, leaves the parishioners no option, but to allow themselves to be taxed to an amount necessary for the current expenditure. A minority, it would seem, may insist on laying the requisite rate. And now as to the aggregate amount of this tax. When Lord Althorp proposed, in 1834, to charge the consolidated fund with £250,000, to meet the expenses of repairing the parish churches and chapels merely, he stated, that the amount of church-rates annually levied was about £600,000. In the year ending Easter, 1839, the total amount of rates and monies received by churchwardens was £506,812, of which £363,103 was derived from church-rates alone. The remainder was made up from the proceeds of estates, mortuary or burial fees, pews, and sittings, and other sources. We may state this tax, therefore, as amounting to half a million sterling.

We have now brought our inquiries to a termination. We

have scrupulously guarded against all wilful exaggeration and misstatement. We have diligently examined all sources of information within our reach, and by a careful collation of authorities, have endeavoured to attain as great accuracy as the nature of the subject allows, and now deliberately record our conviction that the annual revenue of the Established Church of England and Wales exceeds ten millions sterling.

This statement, it is true, is not supported by any special declaration of the clergy, and Parliamentary returns may be adduced in partial contradiction of it; nevertheless, we are ready to abide by it, and avow our unhesitating assurance of its substantial correctness. Nay, more, we are convinced that a thorough acquaintance with the whole system of ecclesiastical exactions would warrant our assigning to them a larger amount. We are quite aware that it has not the concurrent testimony of popular statistical books, or of dictionaries of general reference. But it should be remembered that the compilers of these works, instead of instituting rigid inquiries for themselves, have implicitly adhered to the early Parliamentary reports on the subject, as though they had been in concert with the clergy to perpetuate the deception, which, by means of dishonest returns, they have practised on the nation.

Before taking leave of the question, we must remind our readers of the important bearing it has on the healthy condition of a Christian church. The accumulation of such enormous wealth in the hands of any religious body is utterly inconsistent with the preservation of spiritual power or purity. It is an ancient observation, 'that when religion brings forth wealth, the daughter devours the mother;' and in the history of every church which has attained to any high degree of pecuniary prosperity, this has been abundantly verified. A church encumbered with riches, loses its spirituality, and grows wanton, as scope is afforded for the exercise of its perverted powers. Preferring gain to godliness, it becomes unscrupulous in the pursuit of wealth; and when it has made ample 'provision for the flesh,' it is certain to 'fulfil the lusts thereof.'

The present condition of the Established Church furnishes a melancholy illustration of the power of wealth to paralyze and corrupt the moral and religious sensibilities. Its immense endowments have been preserved by a succession of dishonourable compromises, which have utterly divested it even of the shadow of spiritual independence. It has bartered its birthright of freedom, and is reduced to a state of miserable servitude. Strangers to its communion—nay, the enemies of its faith—are competent to legislate on its affairs. Whether it be because of its incapacity for correction, or its rooted indisposition to reform,

the business of rectifying its internal disorders has devolved altogether on the State. 'It is true,' says the Rev. Francis Close, in his 'Lectures on the Present State of Parties in the Church of England,' 'that the progress of political events has placed the Church in a most anomalous position in many respects, and laid her open to the charge of Erastianism, or subjection to the secular arm of the State, and its undue interference in spiritual things. Destitute of convocation and synod, the Church has, strictly speaking, no power of internal correction, improvement, or legislation.' And in such a state of helpless impotency he would allow the Church to remain. But why, we would ask, does no indignant protest against this vile subjection proceed from those who are sensible of the evils that flow from it? Why do the occasional lamentations of pious Evangelicals issue in no vigorous and resolute effort for the redemption of the Church from civil bondage? Our answer is, the State has woven around them a golden web, from the meshes of which they cannot extricate themselves. By profuse liberality it has reconciled them to their servitude, and has even made them regard with complacency the fetters by which they are bound. In a word, the State has been munificent, and they are manageable. Thus, excessive endowment saps whatever devotion to truth may be in the Church, and spreads over it a thick incrustation of secularity, beneath which the generous spirit of self-sacrifice is blighted, and the moral sentiments are benumbed and deadened. This is probably the most pernicious influence which State connexion exerts on the Church.

In estimating the amount of property which the State would have at its disposal in the event of the dissolution of its connexion with the Church, we should of course leave out of account church-rates, as well as surplice-fees and Easter-offerings; the former of which are contingent on a law which would then be abrogated, while the others would be matters of internal ecclesiastical arrangement, and come now within our cognizance only on the ground of their being compulsory. Making these deductions, there would remain property available for state purposes of the annual value of eight millions sterling.

In conclusion, we observe that an investigation into the nature of Church property would be requisite to the complete justification of the views presented in the previous inquiry. We have dealt with it as public property, of which the State is the real proprietor, and which it may legitimately apply, whenever it deems expedient, to any purposes within the range of civil administration. In vindication of this doctrine, high parliamentary authority might be adduced. But it is worthy of a separate consideration, in order to demonstrate that the move-

ment in favour of Church and State separation, to which we are pledged, does not involve the slightest disregard of the rights of property. Meanwhile, we commend to the careful perusal of our readers, a brief but satisfactory discussion of the subject, in a tract on 'Church Property,' from the pen of the Rev. John Howard Hinton, published by the British Anti-State-Church Association.

ART. II.—*Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe. Par M. le Vicomte de Chateaubriand. Paris. 1849.*

ADMITTING at once that these volumes are full of interesting passages and pieces of fine writing—that it would have been a pity to suppress them, or 'put off their publication for fifty years,' as the author professed to desire, we must say that they contain nothing to justify the pompous manner in which, for many years past, their coming into the world was announced. The credulous portion of the public seem to have been prepared for some astounding revelations, bearing as well upon the political events of the last half century, as upon the mysteries of the human heart. Our knowledge, in fact, was to receive a finishing touch from this extraordinary production; and the impatience in some quarters became so great at one time, that an enthusiastic student is said to have conceived the idea of finishing off M. de Chateaubriand with a poignard, in order that the world might the sooner benefit by his promised posthumous lessons.

Our readers are probably aware that these 'Memoirs' were begun nearly forty years ago, and that as their existence soon became known to the friends of the writer, then in the full splendour of a young literary reputation, a good deal of curiosity was at once excited. As time wore on, and ten years passed, and then ten years more rolled away, this curiosity greatly increased, and after 1830 very eager solicitations were addressed to Chateaubriand in favour of immediate publication. He had determined, however, to leave the work as a legacy to the world, and nothing could induce him to change his resolution. At the same time he was in great want of money, and large sums were offered him. He preferred, however, remaining in straitened circumstances to deviating from the line he had traced out for himself, and thus relieved his memory from a reproach that

might otherwise have attached to it—namely, that he delayed through mere literary coquetry, in order to enjoy the pleasure of being begged and prayed, and to enhance the extrinsic interest of his work. Something of all this may have influenced him; but he must also have obeyed a sentiment of duty.

At length, however, in 1836, M. Delloye, a devout military man, transformed into a publisher, started a company, which guaranteed to M. and Madame de Chateaubriand an annuity, and advanced certain sums on the speculation of being reimbursed at the death of the noble author from the proceeds of his 'Memoirs.' All the private friends and the admirers of the popular writer, as well as many persons in search of an investment, came forward, and the list was soon filled up. It is probable, however, that very few of those who put down their names anticipated that they would have to wait for reimbursement for thirteen long years, during the last of which, events were to occur capable of swallowing up reputations much more brilliant and solid than that of M. de Chateaubriand.

Properly speaking, the work ought to have appeared during the first interval of repose after the revolution of 1830. It would have served as a very decent farewell of the old spirit of legitimism to the world. Coming in the midst of a new revolution that promises to be radical and extensive, it seems strangely out of date. Indeed, for the last four or five years the interest felt in the 'Memoirs' had much diminished; and even the method adopted of keeping up the excitement by reading little portions to select circles of friends, who were bound by promise not to repeat the words, but only their impressions, was scarcely successful. M. de Chateaubriand himself had become an anachronism; and in 1846 he had been reduced to admit the fact, that most probably numbers of the subscribers to his 'Memoirs' were tired of waiting, and were looking forward with eagerness to his last moments.

A good deal has already been said about the mode of life of Chateaubriand, as well as about his character and his intercourse with his friends. It does not seem that he was endowed with the capacity of inspiring strong attachments in those immediately around him; although certainly his servant François attended him for twenty years, and watched his declining days with unremitting attention to the last. Towards persons who could claim to be his friends he was cold and distant, full of forms and ceremonies, and he was perpetually dominated by the idea of his own personality. If ever man was an egotist, it was he. And yet he was not at all a selfish man. If incapable of the continued labours of friendship, he was susceptible of very generous impulses, and always exhibited a perfect indifference to money.

It is worth while mentioning that for a few months previous to his death he was almost in a perfect lethargy. Nothing could raise him but the sound of some emphatic voice reading the unpublished 'Memoirs,' certain passages of which seemed to act electrically upon him, and produce shiverings of delight.

We have already signified that much of the extrinsic interest of these 'Memoirs' had been diminished by time. Let us now proceed to consider them as curious revelations of the character and career of an eminent writer. They possess one great defect—the want of simplicity. There is no internal evidence of the truth of the writer's representation of himself. There is nothing in them of the *bonhomie* of Montaigne, or of the courageous, perhaps affected, self-accusation of Rousseau. Chateaubriand always took a very complacent view of his own doings; and his book is, in this particular, a faithful mirror of himself. We find ourselves, on opening the first page, in presence of a man who believed he had played a very exalted part in the world's history, and who deigned to write about himself to satisfy what he considered the legitimate curiosity of the public. And it is certain that great curiosity existed about him in France—quite sufficient at one time to justify his belief. The following, however, is a curious instance of the strength of his self-admiration: 'If I die,' says he in his preface, 'far from France, I desire that my body should not be restored to my country until the lapse of fifty years from the first inhumation. Let my remains be spared a sacrilegious examination; let no trouble be taken to seek in my frozen brain, and in my extinguished heart, for the mystery of my being. Death reveals not the secrets of life. A corpse travelling at post-haste inspires me with horror; bleached and mouldering bones are of easier carriage; they will be less fatigued in their last voyage than when I drag them hither and thither laden with my sorrows.' Alas! who would have remembered fifty years hence that the bones of the author of the '*Genie du Christianisme*' were sleeping in a foreign land?

A rapid analysis of the earlier and more interesting portions of these 'Memoirs'—which their author calls 'a Temple of Death raised to the lucidity of his recollections'—will give some idea of a man who occupied, during a considerable space of time, much of the public attention. We pass over the elaborate account of his family, which he introduces because he is proud of his ancient descent, but the effect of which he spoils by some democratic flourishes at the end. Here we miss the *naïveté* of the old memoir writer, who would have related these matters with solemn unction, and would have thought it sacrilege to wind up by apologizing for their introduction, and calling them 'puerilities.'

Chateaubriand's father, if he knew what his son was about when he was writing the paragraphs we allude to, must have been sorely annoyed; for he, so far from despising, or affecting, in deference to the spirit of the age, to despise the glories of high lineage, was entirely wrapped up in the greatness of his family, and is blamed, even satirized, on this account, by his son, with improper severity. We pass over the ridiculous account Chateaubriand gives of his birth and very infantine years as hurriedly as possible. It is painful to find such a man provoking comparisons, first with Voltaire, then with Buonaparte—representing himself as so doomed to misfortune that he resisted both, even in his mother's womb—talking of the heaviness of time being stamped upon his brow after a few instants of life—and of his father as the terror, his mother as the scourge of the servants, &c. &c. We suspect that all those points were made simply because neither tradition nor memory furnished him with anything to say, and he was unwilling to leave a blank.

We come at length into the reign of wholesome realities, and take a long breath. Here is a capital description of his life with his grandmother when he had reached his seventh year:—

‘My grandmother possessed, in the Rue du Hameau de l’Abbaye, a house, the gardens of which descended in terraces to the bottom of a valley, where was a fountain surrounded with willows. Madame de Bedée had lost the power of walking, but, with this exception, felt none of the inconveniences incident to her age; she was an agreeable old lady, fat, fair, clean, with a lofty air, fine and noble manners, wearing gowns of antique fold, and a black lace coif tied under her chin. Her mind was cultivated, her conversation grave, her temper serious. She was attended by her sister, Mademoiselle de Boisteilleul, who resembled her only in goodness—being a little thin body, lively, chatty, and satirical. She had loved a certain Comte de Trémigon, which comte should have married her, but forfeited his word. My aunt found consolation in singing her lover, for she was a poet. I remember to have often heard her humming, in a snuffling tone, with spectacles on nose, as she embroidered for her sister a pair of double-rowed cuffs, an apologue, beginning—

“Un épervier aimait une fauvette,
Et, ce dit-on, il en était aimé;”

which always appeared to me rather singular for a hawk. The verses ended as follows:—

“Ah! Trémigon, la fable est-elle obscure?
Ture lure.”

How many things in this world end, like the lines of my aunt, in ture lure!

‘My grandmother left the care of the house to her sister. She dined at eleven o'clock in the morning, and took her siesta; at one o'clock

she was awakened; they then carried her to the bottom of the garden terraces, under the willows of the fountain, where she knitted, surrounded by her sister, her children, and her grandchildren. In those days old age was a dignity; now it is a burden. At four o'clock they carried her back to her parlour; Pierre, the servant, laid out a card-table; Mademoiselle de Boisteilleul knocked with the tongs against the bottom of the chimney, and anon appeared three other old maids, who came from the neighbouring house at my aunt's summons. These three sisters were called the Demoiselles Vildéneux; the daughters of a poor gentleman, instead of dividing their small inheritance, they had resolved to enjoy it in common, never quitted one another, and never went out of their paternal village. In relation, from childhood upwards, with my grandmother, they lodged next door, and came every day, at the appointed signal at the back of the chimney, to play a game of quadrille with their friend. The playing commenced: the good ladies quarrelled; it was the only event of their life, the only moment when the evenness of their temper was disturbed. At eight o'clock supper brought back serenity. My uncle, De Bedée, came often, with his son and his three daughters, to sup with my grandmother. She indulged in a thousand narratives of the olden time; my uncle, in his turn, related the battle of Fontenoy, at which he was present, and crowned his boasting with stories of a certain freedom, at which the demure ladies screamed with laughter. At nine o'clock, supper being over, the domestics entered; every one knelt, and Mademoiselle de Boisteilleul said prayers aloud. At ten o'clock every one in the house slept, except my grandmother, whose *femme de chambre* read to her until one in the morning.'

Chateaubriand was originally intended for the sea, and on this account his education was very little cared for, and the greater part of his childhood and boyhood was passed in idleness at St. Malo (where, by the way, we may inform the chronological reader, he was born on the 4th of September, 1768). A slight knowledge of drawing, of English, &c., was considered quite sufficient acquirement for a sailor.

Here and there, in the early part of the 'Memoirs,' we have a touch of nature; as, for example, where it is revealed that the writer, in his young days, was a ragged, dirty, noisy little rascal, whose melancholy fits were only caused by the want of money to buy cakes and toys. This, however, is an inadvertent confession; for the exigencies of romance are everywhere else complied with. 'Like the date-tree of the Arab,' we are told, 'scarcely had my stalk risen above the rock before I was beaten upon by the wind!' There is very little of interest in the lengthy account given of Gesril—the school-companion; and the only impression produced by all this portion of the narrative is, that the writer was making a desperate attempt to imitate Rousseau.

At length it was determined to give Chateaubriand a classical education, and he was sent to the College of Dole, where he

seems to have prospered tolerably well; and, after the second holidays, which he spent at the paternal castle of Combours, he represents himself as having shocked his tutor by his extraordinary precocity. 'I was translating,' he says, 'the "*Æneadum Genetrix*" of Lucretius with such vivacity, that M. Egault snatched the book out of my hand, and threw me on to the Greek roots.' This incident had no further consequences; and, in due time, our young friend passed on to the College of Rennes. Having concluded his classical studies, an attempt was made to attach him to the naval service, but, by an exertion of his own energy, he escaped the, to him, disagreeable career, and, in order to gain time, affected to feel a desire for the ecclesiastical profession. Further studies at the College of Dinant were to prepare him; but he insensibly abandoned them, and, as he was approaching manhood, sunk down into a lazy, undecided life at Combours.

'The melancholy calm of this castle was augmented,' says Chateaubriand, 'by the taciturn and inimical temper of my father. Instead of bringing together his family and his people about him, he had dispersed them in all the four corners of the edifice. His sleeping-room was placed in the little eastern tower, and his cabinet in the little western tower. The furniture of his cabinet consisted of three chairs of black leather, and a table covered with title-deeds and parchments. A genealogical tree of the family of the Chateaubriands hung over the mantel-piece, and in the embrasure of a window were to be seen all kinds of arms, from the pistol to the espingole. My mother's apartment was above the great hall between the two little towers; it was boarded and adorned with Venetian glasses in facets. My sister lived in a little cabinet depending on my mother's apartment. The *femme de chambre* slept far off, in the body of the building, between the great towers. I was established in a kind of isolated cell, at the top of the staircase-tower communicating from the interior court with the various parts of the castle. At the bottom of this staircase my father's *valet de chambre* and the servant slept in vaulted caves, and the cook served as garrison to the great tower on the west.

'My father rose at four in the morning, winter as well as summer; he came first into the inner court to call and wake his *valet de chambre*, at the entry of the staircase. Coffee was brought to him at five; he then worked in his cabinet until mid-day. My mother and sister breakfasted each in their own rooms at eight o'clock. I had no fixed hour either for getting up or breakfasting; I was supposed to study till mid-day; but the greater part of the time I did nothing.

'At half-past eleven the bell rang for dinner, which was served at twelve. The great hall was at once the dining and drawing-room; we dined and supped at its eastern extremity; after dinner we went and sat at the western end before an enormous chimney. The great hall was wainscotted, painted in a greyish white, and adorned with old portraits from the reign of Francis I. to that of Louis XIV.; among

these portraits were those of Condé, and of Turenne ; a picture representing Hector killed by Achilles under the walls of Troy was hung over the chimney-piece.

‘Dinner over, we remained together until two o’clock. Then, if it was summer-time, my father went and enjoyed the sport of fishing, visited his kitchen garden, or took a walk ; if it was autumn or winter, he went out hunting, whilst my mother retired to the chapel, where she passed some hours in prayer. This chapel was a sombre oratory, adorned with excellent paintings by the greatest masters, which one would scarcely have expected to find in a feudal castle in the depths of Brittany. I still possess a Holy Family, by Albano, painted on copper, taken from this chapel : it is my only relic of Combourg.

‘My father away, and my mother at prayers, Lucile shut herself up in her room, whilst I regained my cell, or went to wander about the fields.

‘At eight o’clock, the bell announced supper. This meal concluded, in fine days, we sat before the gateway. My father, arrived with his gun, shot at the owls which came out of the battlements at nightfall. My mother, Lucile, and I, looked at the sky, the woods, the last rays of the sun, the first stars. At ten we returned within doors, and went to bed.

‘The evenings of autumn and winter were of another kind. Supper being over, we all four returned to the great fire-place, and my mother threw herself, with a sigh, upon an old day-couch, covered with glaring coarse cotton cloth ; a light apron or stand was placed before her. I sat near the fire with Lucile ; the servants cleared the table and retired. Then my father began a walk, which only ceased at his bed-time. He wore a robe of white ratteen, or rather a kind of cloak, peculiar to himself. His half-bald head was covered with a large white night-cap, that stood quite upright. When in walking, he distanced the hearth, the vast hall was so ill-lighted by a single taper, that we could no longer see him ; we could only hear him walking in the darkness ; then he returned slowly towards the light, and emerged little by little from the obscurity, like a spectre, with his white gown, his white cap, and his long wan pale face. Lucile and I exchanged a few words in a low voice when he was at the other end of the hall ; we relapsed into silence as he approached. He would say to us, in passing : “What were you talking about ?” Seized with terror, we answered, Nothing ; he continued his walk. The remainder of the evening no sound fell on the ear, but the measured echo of his footsteps, the sighs of my mother, and the murmurs of the wind.

‘Ten sounded at the castle clock ; my father stopped ; the same spring that had raised the hammer of the clock seemed to have suspended his walk. He drew out his watch, wound it up, took a large silver flambeau, with a single candle, entered for a moment the western tower, then returned, carrying the light towards his bed-chamber, depending on the little eastern tower. Lucile and I intercepted him as he passed to kiss him and say good night. He leaned his dry and hollow cheek towards us without an answer, continued on his way, and we soon heard the door close upon him in the depths of the tower.

‘The talisman was broken ; my mother, my sister, and I, transformed

into statues by the presence of my father, recovered the functions of life. The first effect of our disenchantment was an overflow of words: if silence had opposed us, it now paid dearly for it.

‘This torrent of words over, I called the *femme de chambre*, and conducted my mother and sister to their apartment. Before I retired they made me look under the beds, up the chimney, behind the doors, and examine the staircase, passage, and corridors. All the traditions of the castle, with reference to robbers and spectres, came to their memory. As for the servants, they were persuaded that a certain Count of Combourg, with a wooden leg, though dead for three centuries, yet appeared at certain epochs, and had been met with on the great staircase; occasionally also his wooden leg hopped about alone, followed by a black cat.’

We have given the above passage in full, because it appears to us to contain all the marks of being a genuine reminiscence, well defined and clear; unlike many other chapters, which are full of vague evocations of the past, fragments of truth eked out with fancy and speculation. The kind of life which the youthful Chateaubriand led in his father’s castle, if very unapt to form a great character, was not at all dissonant with the development of imagination. Accordingly we find that it was during one of his walks in the neighbourhood with his sister Lucile, that the latter suggested to him that he should put down some of the sentiments he expressed upon paper.

We now come to a period of life which is generally a critical one for most men, and which almost led in the case of our hero to suicide. At a given period he became inflamed with love for an unreal object—a phantom, which he either then decked out, or now adorned with the most gorgeous colours, and which kept his mind occupied for two years. We will not extract any portion of the chapters in which he describes this period. It is full of exquisite imagery, and some real touches of passion, but is too long to give entire, too connected to abridge or select from. A serious malady brought the visionary back to the world. It was now time for him finally to choose a profession. By the advice of his mother, he gave up the church, and proposed to go and seek his fortune in the Indies. His father, however, very naturally, grew tired of his vacillation, exerted his authority, made him enter the army, and one fine morning we find him on his way to Paris. An incident that strongly reminds one of Rousseau’s walk to Neufchatel with the servant-maid,—so strongly, that it suggests the idea of its having been introduced purposely as a counterpart,—gives us an opportunity of understanding our author’s timidity, and takes us pleasantly to the capital. Here we are not detained long, but are hurried forward to the garrison, from this back to Combourg, in consequence of the death of the Count of Chateaubriand, and the necessity of

dividing the heritage. A brief country residence ushers in a return to Paris, and may be looked upon as the conclusion of the youthful experience of the author of the *Martyres*.

We do not intend, in the present article, to enter upon the political or literary life of Chateaubriand, but merely to consider the circumstances which combined to form his character, and make him the man he afterwards became. For this purpose we have gone over, rapidly, all he had to tell of his early years. If we have not entered into more detail, and have slightly noticed some points, and suppressed all allusion to others, it is because we could not divest ourselves of the belief that the writer's imagination was constantly called in to supply the defects of his memory, and that in many places he was powerfully influenced by a desire to out-do the *naïve* revelations of the philosopher of Geneva. Some persons have thrown a doubt upon the truth of many of the statements in the celebrated 'Confessions,' but if there be invention in the early volumes, the art exhibited is marvellous. There is manifest consistency throughout; and the only thing the reader has to complain of is a constant attempt at self-depreciation. In the 'Memoirs' before us, on the contrary, the uneasy desire to appear remarkable and interesting, exhibits itself in every page; and we are kept in a state of almost perpetual annoyance by the efforts made to convert an idle, dirty, but clever and good-natured little vagabond into a child of melancholy, a butt for fortune's shaft,—a mysterious and romantic entity! Chateaubriand's eccentricities, like Tristram Shandy's misfortunes, began long before he was born, as we learn in a ridiculous passage, where he describes the successive disappointments of his father, and concludes by saying:—'*I resisted, I had an aversion for life!*' If he had begun his 'Memoirs' in any other spirit, he would have produced a delightful work, and have made a much more favourable impression; but we suppose he has a claim to forgiveness. His fault is a national one. It is almost impossible for a Frenchman, who has done anything in this world, not to frame for himself an idea of the way in which people regard him, and not to endeavour to attitudinize, in order to keep up the illusion. 'There was never yet fair woman who did not make mouths in a glass;' and there was never yet clever Frenchman who did not endeavour to have one face for his *valet-de-chambre*, and another for the public. We might object to many other points—especially to the affectation of a religious tone, mingled with remarks of singular levity; as for example, this:—'*I don't despair, with God's assistance, of dying in a hospital!*' &c.

We are now introduced to newer and more exciting scenes, and feel almost tempted to accompany Chateaubriand step by

step through the opening scenes of the great Revolution, as they presented themselves to his eyes. We might thus, however, be led into oft-repeated discussions. It will be sufficient, therefore, to remark that our author, after having joined the nobility of Brittany in agitating for certain narrow and partial reforms, gradually relapsed into indifference, and then became an emigrant and an enemy of his country. He attempts to excuse himself by saying that it was a disposition of his mind to side with the feeble against the strong, and that he determined to take up the sword for the royal family because they were in exile. There could scarcely be a more pernicious sentiment than this. If it existed in many breasts, the world would have few quiet moments; and there is more criminality than poor Chateaubriand seemed to imagine in thus taking up the sword as an amateur. He confesses to have had none of the violent royalist bigotry that blinded so many brave men, and made them chivalrous traitors; and was therefore inexcusable.

Let us see in what company, and under what circumstances, Chateaubriand became initiated into the scenes of public life, without being precisely an actor in them.

'The noblesse of Brittany, by its own authority, had convoked itself at Rennes, to protest against the establishment of the Plenary Court. I went to this Diet: it was the first political meeting I ever beheld. I was stunned and amused by the cries which I heard. People climbed upon tables and chairs; they gesticulated; everybody spoke at once. The Marquis of Tremargat, with his wooden-leg, stood up, and roared in a stentorian voice, "Let us go to the Commandant, M. de Thiard: we will say to him, The noblesse of Brittany is at your doors; it requests to speak with you: the king himself would not refuse!" At this stroke of eloquence, the bravos shook the vaulted roof of the hall. He repeated, "The king himself would not refuse!" The whooping and trampling redoubled. We all went to the house of M. de Thiard, a courtier, an erotic poet, a quiet and frivolous being, mortally disgusted with the noise we made. He looked upon us as *houhous*, wild boars, savage beasts. He burned with impatience to get away from our Armorica, and had no idea of refusing us entrance into his hotel. Our orator said what he liked, after which we drew up this declaration: "We declare infamous those who accept places either under the new administration of justice, or in the administration of the States, if not acknowledged by the constituent laws of Brittany." Twelve gentlemen were chosen to carry this document to the king. On their arrival in Paris, they were boxed up in the Bastille, from which they soon came out like heroes. They were received on their return with laurel branches. We all wore coats with great mother-of-pearl buttons, round which was written in Latin the device, "Death before dishonour." We triumphed over the Court, as every one then triumphed, and were falling along with it into the abyss!"

Soon after this, Chateaubriand had three hairs cut off the top

of his head (signifying the tonsure), and became a kind of clerical layman, and a candidate for the order of Malta; but his endeavours to lead a quiet life were frustrated, and again he found himself dragged into the current of political events, though still as a spectator.

‘Many meetings were held at M. de Boisgelin’s before the opening of the States (of Brittany). All the scenes of confusion I had before witnessed were renewed. The Chevalier de Guer, the Marquis of Trémargat, my uncle, the Count of Bedée, surnamed *Bedée the Artichoke*, on account of his stoutness, and to distinguish him from another long and thin Bedée, called *Asparagus*, broke several chairs by climbing upon them to hold forth. The Marquis of Trémargat, the wooden-legged naval officer, drew a great many enmities on his order. There was talk one day of establishing a military school, where the sons of the poor nobility should be brought up. A member of the *tiers état* cried out, “And our sons, what shall they have?” “The hospital!” answered Tremergat—a saying which fell among the crowd, and rapidly germinated.’

Chateaubriand went to Paris after the great movement had begun, was present at the taking of the Bastile, and came in contact with many celebrated characters. He dined one day with the great venal tribune who deserted the aristocracy and sold the democracy. ‘On leaving, the conversation fell upon the enemies of Mirabeau. I found myself by his side, and said nothing. He looked full in my face, with his eyes beaming with pride, vice, and genius, and, tapping me on the shoulder, said, “They will never forgive me my superiority!” I still feel the impression of his hand, as if Satan had touched me with his fiery paw.’ Robespierre he never met in society, but saw him at the tribune, reading, amidst general inattention, a tedious report. ‘His air was common, his countenance grey and inanimate, his hair regularly arranged, his costume careful, like that of a gentleman’s steward or a prim village notary.’ Nobody at that time suspected the mental power of that grey-visaged man, who, in spite of all the recent praiseworthy attempts made in France to develop his true character, remains still unexplained. Panegyric is as out of place with him as was vituperation. He requires to be anatomized, not to be mangled by impotent rage, or decked out by ill-judged enthusiasm. The clever *feuilletons* by Salieres, now publishing in the *Peuple*, are attempts at idealizing a man whom it is as absurd to idealize as Cromwell. He was a real practical flesh and blood individual, neither angel nor demon. Chateaubriand says, with some truth, speaking of the whole period of the Revolution: ‘Of so many reputations, of so many actors, of so many events, of so many ruins, three men only will remain, each attached to one of the three great revolu-

tionary epochs—Mirabeau for the aristocracy, Robespierre for the democracy, Buonaparte for despotism: for monarchy there was nothing. France paid dearly for these three renowns, which virtue cannot acknowledge.'

But we must not keep our eyes turned too long towards the public characters of that fascinating period. We have to accompany Chateaubriand through the last act of what we consider his early life—namely, his voyage to America. He was for a time disgusted with European politics. Everything wore a gloomy aspect. Society to the unthinking seemed to be crumbling to dust. There was as yet no prospect of a new form. Chateaubriand, moreover, was tormented with the lust of a fame which he affected to despise. 'Nobody,' he says, with *naïve* vanity, 'paid any attention to me. *Like Buonaparte*, I was a poor sub-lieutenant, perfectly unknown. We started, both of us, from obscurity at the same epoch; I to seek my renown in solitude, he his glory amongst men.'

At that period, Chateaubriand's object was to discover the north-west passage. At least, this was the object he persuaded himself that led him on, but he never seems seriously to have contemplated an expedition. He lacked both the funds and the preliminary acquirements. However, off he started, with a companion he had acquired during his last residence in Paris—namely, the belief in the necessity of disbelieving everything. The change that had come over him, he attributes to the reading of the philosophical books of the day; but scepticism is a disease of youth, almost as general in its attacks as the measles or the hooping-cough.

Chateaubriand had a fortunate passage, which he narrates eloquently. He landed at Baltimore, and proceeded almost immediately to Philadelphia, where he had an interview with Washington. The circumstances attending it were not particularly interesting, but they gave occasion to a very able parallel between the American patriot and the Corsican usurper. A characteristic trait also succeeds the account of his reception. He pauses to intimate a regret that Washington died before he (Chateaubriand) became a world-celebrated individual, and that he had appeared in his eyes only as a vain young Frenchman, who talked of undertaking a very difficult task with ridiculously insufficient means. These are the passages that reveal the man to us. He never loses an opportunity of suggesting some parallel, some point of comparison, between himself and men whose names history has consecrated—Voltaire, Buonaparte, Washington, &c. &c.

The doubts intimated rather than expressed by Washington, seem not to have shaken Chateaubriand's ambitious ideas; but

an interview with an old trapper rejoicing in the name of Smith, completely opened his eyes, and although he would not at first confess it, he found that all he could attempt was a rapid tour. This tour he describes agreeably and well. We must extract the following passage:—

‘When I had passed the Mohawk, and entered the virgin-forest, I felt intoxicated with independence. I went from tree to tree, to the right, to the left, crying, “Here are no roads, no cities, no monarchies, no republics, no presidents, no kings, no men!” And in order to prove that I was re-established in my original rights, I performed acts of will that put my guide beside himself. He thought in his very soul that I was mad.

‘Alas! I believed myself alone in this forest, where I held up my head so proudly! Suddenly, I ran my nose against a cabin, within which my astonished eyes, for the first time, beheld a group of savages. There were twenty of them, men and women, daubed like sorcerers, half naked, their ears snipped, with crows’ feathers on their heads, and rings in their nostrils. A little Frenchman, powdered and curled, in an apple-green coat, drugget waistcoat, shirtbreast and wristbands of muslin, was scraping a fiddle, and making the Iroquois trip it to the tune of *Madelon Friquet*. M. Violet (such was his name) was dancing-master to the savages. He was paid for his lessons in beaver-skins and bear-hams. He had been scullion in the service of the General Rochambeau during the American war. Having remained behind at New York, after the departure of the army, he resolved to teach the fine arts to the Americans. His views enlarging with his success, the modern Orpheus carried civilization among the savage hordes of the New World. In speaking to me of the Indians, he always said, “These savage gentlemen, and these savage ladies.” He was very proud of the agility of his pupils; and, of a truth, it was never my lot to behold such skipping elsewhere. M. Violet, cocking up his little fiddle between his chin and his breast, would tune the fatal instrument, exclaim to the Iroquois, “Take your places!” and in a trice the whole troop was jumping like a band of demons.

‘Was it not an overwhelming thing for a disciple of Rousseau to be thus introduced to savage life by a ball given by the late scullion of General Rochambeau to a troop of Iroquois? I had a great mind to laugh, but was cruelly humiliated.’

In this amusing passage, the Frenchman appears all over, both in the nature of the illusions cherished, and in the way in which they were dissipated. During the remainder of the voyage, which is all amusingly sketched, the same tone prevails. The writer visits the falls of Niagara,—misses his footing, and breaks his arm,—gets well, travels southward, and falls in love with two beautiful girls of Florida, both of whom are carried off from under his very nose by an ugly half-caste,—and at length falls in with an English newspaper, containing the account of Louis XVI.’s flight to Varennes. This determined him to return to France to fight against his own country, or

rather to appear in the character of a royalist emigrant, the most miserable position that ever man occupied. The feeling of *loyalty*, in all its developments, is one of the most debasing of which the mind of man is susceptible, but it can lead to nothing more disgraceful than the conduct of the French nobility at the outset of the Revolution. They abandoned their wives, their families, and their friends, to the vengeance of an infuriated populace, and basely ran away, only to return in company with foreign armies; and when they did return, their first exploit was to extract from the nation, in the shape of an enormous indemnity, a reward for their infamy. But this has always been the case in France, where the upper classes seem to have a proneness to corruption perfectly marvellous. They are never to be depended upon for the support of any government, good or bad. Their first impulse is to hide their silver spoons. They have no public spirit, no self-dependence. And this is not, as certain people try to persuade the public, from mere want of nerve. It is because they are corrupt to the heart's core, and feel that they have nothing to say in extenuation of their prosperity. They know that the people hate them for their pride and insolence; and though they take no pains in the hour of prosperity to remove this feeling, are too prudent to trust to its being extinguished at the hour of victory in the breasts of a magnanimous people. Off, then, to the frontiers, or to the depths of the country, is the word, at the first report of a successful *émeute*; but, as has been the case in this last revolution, no sooner is order re-established, than the *salons* are filled with people hale and hearty with provincial air, who are loud in detailing all the military manœuvres that might have been taken to avoid the regretted catastrophe. Let these gentlemen, however, perorate as they please. Nothing can keep up a corrupt government, when once the people are put in motion; and the dastards who ran away at the first angry shout of the crowd, are not the men who can restore monarchy in France against the will of an enlightened public. If there be any Chateaubriands now reclining on foreign sofas, and strolling in voluntary exile on foreign *trottoirs*, let them make haste to give up their illusions. Another Robespierre may be possible. We think we see him ready to step to the helm, if the middle classes allow themselves to be deceived by the foolish cry of a fanatic crew for a return to monarchy; and then, *væ victis*. We do not think, however, that a second Reign of Terror is a necessary episode of the Revolution of 1848. It will only become so if that violent, but fortunately weak, party called the Reactionists, obtain by mere accident power to work their complete will.

ART. III.—*Curiosities of Glass-making.* By Apsley Pellatt. London :
D. Bogue. 1849.

ONCE upon a time,—of which history speaks too indistinctly to enable us to write more precisely,—upon the shores of the river Belus, a company of mariners from Phœnicia were gathered together, glad to touch land after an absence of some duration, and anxious to improve their liberty by dining on shore. It happened that, being as we may suppose successful in obtaining game, or in hooking a few of the Belian fish, they fell into some perplexity to contrive a method of preparing the same for the table. They had all the necessary apparatus of pots and pans; and fuel in abundance surrounded them in the vegetation which clustered about the mouth of the river. But with all this they were at an extreme loss to know how to make their pots boil. The Belus, for half a mile above and below, rolled its clear waters over a bed of the purest sand, but such a thing as a moderate-sized stone was not to be found in all the neighbourhood. Beyond a few pebbles which glittered here and there in the sand, nothing could be found fit to form a support to the culinary apparatus of these unfortunate sailors. They appear never to have thought of the gipsying expedient of tying a cord round the neck of the pot, and hanging it to a wooden tripod over the flames beneath. As they were casting about for some method of getting their dinner cooked, a bright thought entered the mind of one who, probably without saying a word to his companions, ran back to the ship, climbed on board, dived down to the hold, and reappeared with his arms full of some lumps of crystalline *natron*, which formed the main cargo of the vessel. Placing several of these on a clear spot of sand, and collecting some dry sticks, he triumphantly set his cauldron thereon, and shortly had the satisfaction of seeing it boil, and of taking his meal. His companions beholding his success, went and did in like manner; and there you might have seen, reader, had you been by, four or five pots steaming with savoury odours, and as many fires casting up their lambent flames, within as many furnaces composed of lumps of the same material. Dinner ended, a curious phenomenon presented itself. From the bottom of each furnace was seen slowly running, a clear transparent molten stream of some substance, to which they were as yet strangers; after it had flowed a little distance, it hardened, and in cooling sufficiently to be handled, they took up, to their amazement,

clear transparent cakes of this beautiful, novel substance, which they carefully preserved, and carried with them on board.

Such was the origin of glass—so at least says the natural historian, Pliny. The Sidonians, in whose vicinity the discovery was made, took it up, and in process of time, carried the art to a high degree of excellence ; they are even said to have invented glass mirrors.

But with all the deference due to Pliny, and to the authors who have corroborated his testimony, among whom are Strabo and Josephus, such appears in reality not to have been the origin or first discovery of this invaluable material. Sir J. G. Wilkinson, in his work on the 'Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians,' has adduced three distinct proofs that the art of glass-making was practised in Egypt before the exodus of the children of Israel from that land, three thousand five hundred years ago. These proofs are of such a nature as to amount in two cases almost to an ocular demonstration, and in the third, positively to such a class of evidence. At Beni Hassan are two paintings, *representing glass-blowers at work*, which were executed, upon the testimony of the accompanying hieroglyphics, in the reign of the first Osirtasen, at the early date above mentioned. In the same age, images of glazed pottery were common ; proving the mode of burning, and the ingredients for the composition of glass, to have been in all probability then known, although it is quite probable that the glazing of such articles might have been a consequence of the employment of a vitrifiable clay, and not of the use of a glazing compound, after the articles had undergone their first baking. But the most direct and conclusive evidence is afforded by the discovery by Captain Hervey, at Thebes, of a glass bead, about three quarters of an inch in diameter, and of the *same specific gravity* as our crown glass. This interesting relic bears, in hieroglyphic characters, the name of a monarch who lived fifteen hundred years before the birth of our Lord. It is said the great Hermes,—if ever such a character had a real existence, which has been doubted,—taught the Egyptians this art ; and it appears highly probable, to say the least, that among the countless experiments of the primal alchemy of the East, a vitrified substance may have been an early product of some operation in the laboratory,—if such a term may be applied to the rude workshop of the first chemists. Some discoveries made by Mr. Bankes, about twenty-five years since, in the Egyptian tombs at Thebes, give us a very exalted conception of the skill attained to in the very dawn of the art by this wonderful people. Despite the resources of our art-chemistry, and the mechanical excellences of our age, these mutilated fragments display an amount of skill in manipu-

lation, and of scientific knowledge in colouring, which are unequalled in the nineteenth century. The most rich and brilliant contrast-colours gleam in relics which have been exposed to the influence of chemical decomposition for upwards of thirty centuries. The intense lustre of the blue and red tints, which were in all probability produced from combinations of very simple and common ingredients, cannot be equalled by modern furnaces. What is very remarkable, the pattern is the same on both sides, even to the most delicate touches of the pencil. The Venetians acknowledged to Mr. Banks that they were altogether unable to conceive of the manner in which the Egyptians manufactured some exquisitely variegated beads, which he exhibited to them. It appears that there was even a glass currency in Egypt, as some well-executed coins of this material are extant, and are represented in one of Mr. Pellatt's plates. They also successfully counterfeited the amethyst, and other precious stones, worn as ornaments for the person. In a word, it may even be questioned whether, largely as glass is now used among ourselves, it was not in more frequent employment among the Egyptians, for it was used by them* even for coffins! It is related, indeed, that Alexander was interred in such a receptacle.

In all probability, the art of glass-making was twice discovered; first in point of time, apparently by the Egyptians, and next by our Phœnician mariners, on the occasion referred to. In both cases it was, almost without a question, the birth of what we term an accident; that is, it was formed not by a philosophic exploration for such a substance, but by the unexpected concurrence of the circumstances, with respect to materials and conditions of temperature now well known to us as resulting in its production. Let the Phœnician navigators, and the Egyptian first alchemists, share the honours of this invaluable discovery. But we may not forget that He who regards with concern a sparrow's fall, how much more a circumstance calculated to confer innumerable blessings and advantages upon mankind, was in reality the author and giver of this good gift to the human family, than which few have so largely contributed to its comfort, well-being, and advancement in science and the arts. To Him—if there be any praise or honour—to Him be it given and ascribed. The separate origin of such an important discovery in the plains of Egypt and on the shores of the Belus, constitutes both an interesting and a remarkable feature in the history of glass.

What subsequently Venice became to Europe, that was Egypt to the rest of the world, for a very considerable period. The

* As a strange illustration of the forgotten things which the tide of time casts upon the shore of shifting ages, a process was, in the year 1847, patented in England for making coffins of glass!

glass-houses of Alexandria supplied the Romans with all their glass-ware for a long number of years. It appears that in addition to possessing good fusible sand, and other appropriate materials, the Egyptian manufacturers discovered a source of manganese, and other colouring agents of great value. It is said their reds were produced by the rare substance minium, probably in some of its compounds. The Emperor Hadrian is related to have received as a present from an Egyptian priest, several glass cups, sparkling with every colour, which, as costly wares, were ordered to be used only on grand festivals. To trace the extension of the glass manufacture from hence to Europe, is perhaps scarcely possible. The Romans probably learnt the secret of the manufacture whilst pursuing the trade of the importation of glass-ware, and subsequently erected furnaces of their own. Pliny assures us that a Roman artist in the reign of Tiberius had his house demolished for discovering how to make malleable glass;—happy is it for Professor Schönbein that he lives in less dangerous days; gun-cotton, and malleable glass, as he calls it, would surely have been the philosopher's ruin, and might have been his death. At Pompeii, we are told, they had glass in their windows, but it was of an impure kind. They practised the curious art of enclosing gold-leaf between two layers of glass, so as to perpetuate to our own day the lustre of the glass and its gilded character. Clear and perfectly transparent glass was more precious than fine gold. For a pair of glass cups which could now be got for a shilling, Nero was glad to give about £50,000 sterling. There was a regular glass-factor's street in Rome, about the year A.D. 193, and the manufacturers already enjoyed the notice of the governing powers in the unpleasant way of an excise duty, which in time turned the glass-trade into a Venetian channel. Collections of British archæology abound in specimens of Roman glass. Phials half filled with some nondescript fluid; other vessels, vases, lamps, drinking-cups, and beads, form the general run of these relics. The remarkable *Glain Neidyr*, or Druid Holy Snakes, found near Aberfraer Palace, in Wales, may possibly have been formed by Druid hands. Old Camden, however, informs us, that the popular account of their origin was something far more marvellous than this. The tale goes thus:—That a number of snakes meet together, join their heads, and begin to hiss with all their might. In time a bubble forms round the head of one of them, which the rest, by continual and energetic hissing, blow on till it comes off at the tail, when it immediately hardens into a ring! These snake-stones were once harbingers of good success to their fortunate finder. In reality, they were thick glass rings, used by their sagacious manufacturers as a charm to impose upon the vulgar. There is a strange coincidence—dare we say

it is anything more?—between the legend in connexion with these beads in Wales, and the tales about the Aggry beads of Ashantee. These beads are of exquisite workmanship, and are dug up from the ground in various districts adjoining the Gold Coast. Some of them resemble mosaic work, the surfaces of others are covered with flowers, and regular patterns so very minute, and the shades so delicately softened one into the other and into the ground of the bead, that nothing but the finest touch of the pencil could equal them. They are valued at their weight in gold. The notion of the rare virtues of the *Glain Neidyr* finds an exact parallel in the African superstition respecting the Aggry beads; and the beads themselves exhibit a similarity of structure which is quite marvellous. In all probability, the Ashantee beads were once wrought at the Egyptian furnaces, and were received as barter for gold in the high and palmy days of that now prostrate and debased country.

When shall we cease to wonder at China and the by-gone period of its excellence in art attainments? The Chinese have long been skilled in glass-making. Their imitation of the precious stone, *Yeschm*, was so excellent that it was next to impossible to distinguish the art-product from that of nature. They supplied the Arabians with a beautiful description of glass-ware of this kind, some pure and brilliant as a gem of the first water. In Egypt the artificial and natural *Yeschm*, and in Cairo the vases made of artificial *Yeschm* were as highly valued as the real, sold for enormous prices. They also imitated the *Ju* stone, in a glass so pure, hard, and rich in lustrous green, as frequently to surpass in beauty the gem itself. They are still versed in the art, but, by a strange conceit, decline applying their knowledge to any extensively useful practical manufacture of this kind of ware. The emperor has a royal factory at Pekin; but it is carried on, like others that might be named, as much for amusement as for utility.

That which has caused the greatest perplexity to modern authors with reference to the history of the glass-manufacture, is the art of forming pictures with coloured glass, apparently after the manner of mosaic work, but the pieces have been so accurately united by intense heat, that not even by the assistance of a powerful lens can the joints be detected. One small fragment, in the possession of Mr. Doubleday, at the British Museum, exhibits an arabesque border of various colours, the outlines of which are well decided, and sharp, and the colours pure and vivid; whilst a brilliant effect has been obtained in another piece by the artist employing, in contrast, opaque and transparent glasses. These pictures have their colours struck through the entire thickness of the specimen, the obverse and reverse corre-

sponding in the minutest particulars. In the same collection are many of these most interesting curiosities of glass-mosaic, some of perfectly white clear glass, in the form of leaves or flowers, interwoven in the midst of a dark green ground. Great study of effect, and much taste as well as skill, are apparent in their execution, although they are only minute in point of size. In all probability they were intended as ornaments for the person, and took the place of natural gems. A variety of this kind of manufacture was formed by welding together several layers of coloured glass, which were cut into small cameos, by working off in different parts the external, or even cutting down to the internal layer. The Portland and Naples vases were specimens of a variety of the same process on a larger scale. It is easy to understand how these objects were formed, but it is impossible to give anything like a satisfactory, or even probable explanation of the manufacture of some of the more exquisite arabesque designs in ancient glass. There is a delicacy of tracery, and a combination, without confusion, of colours about them, which can be compared to nothing but the work of some admirable artist with the pencil and colours. How they contrived to avoid the intermingling of contiguous masses of colour, to preserve the faintest lines clear and distinct from the rest; and last, not least, what were the chemical compounds they employed for their different colours?—cannot be told.

The glass-workers of Venice, although never equalling the last-named specimens of glass, nevertheless, for a long period, astonished all Europe by the beauty and singularity of their productions. The *Mille Fiori* balls were early specimens of their skill and taste. To these, and other remarkable products of their furnaces, we shall again have occasion to refer. Howel gives us a singular account of the Venetian manufacture; he says, ‘Among other little gentile islands which attend the cittie of Venice, there is one called Meriano, about the distance of a little mile, where crystall glasses are made; and ’tis a rare sight to see a whole street, where on the one side there are about twenty furnaces at work perpetually both day and night. It hath bin,’ he adds, for the edification of the readers of the ‘Familiar Letters,’ ‘observed and tryed, that if one shoed remoue a furnace from Meriano to Venice herself—nay, to the other side of the street, and use the same men, materials, and fuell, and the same kind of furnace every way; yet one cannot be able to make cristall glasse in the same perfection for bewty and lustre as they do at Meriano; (!) and the cause they alledg is the qualitie, and clearness of the circumambient air which hangs ore the place, and favoureth the manufacture, which air is *purified* and attenuated by’—what will the reader imagine?—‘the concurrent heats of so

many furnaces together, which never extinguish, but are like the vestall fyres that allwayes burn.' In another place he says, 'It is wonderfull to see what diversitie of shapes, and strange formes these curious artists will make in glasse, as I saw a complete gallie, with all her masts, sayles, cables, tackling, prow, poope, forecastle, anchors, with the long-boat, all made out in cristall glasse, as also a man in armour.' The Venice glasses were esteemed among the credulous to be of such rare qualities as to break in pieces if wine, or other liquid intentionally drugged with poison, were poured into it! To the Venetians is due the credit of originating that style of glass-engraving which now extends through all the glass-making countries in Europe. In addition to their ordinary window and other glass, they revived the art of producing mosaic pictures, though not equal to the ancient specimens. They also introduced many ingenious novelties, among which were glass bugles and beads, in which, at the present time, Venice is still the chief manufacturing city, exporting enormous quantities to the African and other foreign markets.

In England, if we omit the probably doubtful supposition that the Druids were glass-makers, it appears, from a passage in Stow's 'Survey of London,' that the first English glass-houses were at Friar's Hall, and at the Savoy; but the art flourished but little here. We wanted the Merianean atmosphere,—or, more probably, 'the same men, materials, fuell, and the same kind of furnace;' for our drinking-vessels were chiefly imported from Venice. How different are matters now; the crystal glass-works of England, like the rest of her manufactures, are unequalled throughout the world in the extent of their operations, and in the admirable purity of the 'metal' they turn out. The removal of the excise duty has given an immense stimulus to the trade, and, under the fostering care of the government schools, an artistic elegance is beginning to mark the productions of our furnaces, to which they have long been strangers.

We ought to apologize for keeping Mr. Pellatt so long waiting an introduction to the reader's attention; let us now have the pleasure of dealing more specifically with this agreeably written and attractively got-up volume. It appears to have originated in the lectures upon the Manufacture of Flint Glass, and the Curiosities of Glass-making, delivered by the author, at the Royal Institution, and to be, in part, a re-arrangement, so far as its historical portion is concerned, of a slight memoir formerly published by the same author. Many new facts have turned up in the interim since the previous work was published, some of them of high interest and importance; and these are embodied in the present work. The first section of the volume treats the

subject purely historically ; the remaining two, theoretically and practically. In the two latter sections there are evidences of a diligent collection of the facts and general information to be found in the works of the continental writers on the subject of the glass-manufacture. Those of Neri, Kunkell, Blancourt, Loisel, Deaudenart, Bontemps, and others, have supplied much that is valuable, and otherwise wholly unattainable by the general reader. But the principal value of the work, and its most interesting feature, is, that it exhibits to us the practical experience, and the results of long and patient investigations, on the part of one actually concerned in the manufacture of which he treats. Few manufacturers would have had the courage to do what Mr. Pellatt has done, and not many could have treated the subject as pleasantly and popularly as our author. The petty jealousy which watched so anxiously over trade secrets, which shut the door against fellow-workers of the same pursuits, which enacted penal codes against such as divulged the secrets of a country's manufactures, and which, like all jealousy, succeeded only in doing an injury to itself, is passing away. Science is opening all such caskets. Art and mystery are losing their long-lived connexion ; and we can gladly point to such books as that before us as evidence of the advent of a more frank and open, nay, a more philosophic method of conducting our manufactures.

Glass, as Mr. Pellatt informs us, may be classed into simple and compound varieties. The simple are crown glass, plate glass, and bottle glass ; these varieties are composed chiefly of silice and an alkali. The compound glasses have, in addition to these ingredients, more or less metallic substances, added to the mixture for various purposes. Flint glass forms the basis of the other compound glasses, and consists itself of silice, potash, and the oxides of lead and manganese. The materials entering into its composition, when mixed together, are technically called 'batch,' when fused, 'metal.' The different colours of glass are produced by adding different metallic oxides to a certain weight of this 'batch.' The selection of pure and appropriate materials, as well as their just and proportional admixture, is a matter of most anxious care to the manufacturer. Well worked, dried, and burnt Lynn sand, is now the source of the important ingredient, silice. The alkali is now principally derived from the chemical works where nitric acid is made, the residuum of one of their decompositions being thus turned to an important account. We say *now*, because, in both instances, the source of these ingredients in the composition of glass was formerly very different—and the resulting production not only more costly, but less beautiful. The next most important ingredient is the oxide of lead, or litharge, which is produced in large quantities at Newcastle, in

the ingenious process of oxidating lead so as to extract the silver it contains.

In describing the properties of flint glass, Mr. Pellatt gives the affirmative evidence of science, to what we long considered to be an invention of that mendacious person, the Cheap Jack of our country fairs. Well do we remember, standing by the side of such an one's platform, in horror, as the fast-flowing stream of lies welled from his lips, the current of unfaithful words swelling louder and higher with the horse-laugh of an astonished ploughman, who, all his life, simple fellow, had hitherto heard plain things called by plain names. What his saws would cut through we dare not repeat, nor how far and fast his gimlets bore, or his hatchets penetrate; especially we must decline saying what might not be done with his twenty-shilling fowling piece, but one out of all his asseverations seemed hardest to be believed, and was not believed by any who had lent their ears, and perhaps their faith, to all that preceded, yet it was the only one that was really true. We shall give it in Mr. Pellatt's words:—

'Flint glass is remarkably elastic' (Cheap Jack likened it to india-rubber). 'It may be spun so thin as to bend nearly double without fracture. By the aid of slight heat, it may be curled into ringlets, to represent human hair; or it may be blown out so thin as nearly to float in the atmosphere; and it has been woven with silk and other substances, by Messrs. Williams and Sowerby's patent process, so beautifully as to give the brilliant effect of silver and gold, in colours superior to the precious metals themselves. Hollow glass balls'—(this was what Cheap Jack could get nobody to credit)—'are so elastic, that if dropped from a height of ten or twelve feet upon a solid polished anvil, they will rebound from half to three-fourths that height, and generally without fracture, until after the second rebound.'—P. 38.

We may well repeat the old adage, 'truth is stranger than fiction.' The properties of glass in relation to light and to the wants of the astronomer and the optician form by far the most important subject of consideration, we shall therefore extract the interesting account given us in this volume of the experiments upon that variety of glass which is called flint optic-plate.

'If flint glass be required of great density for optical purposes, it is only to add a larger dose of red lead or litharge, beyond what might be termed the atomic mixture of one of alkali, two of lead, and three of sand, of the specific gravity of 3.200, and it will produce glass of higher density, but less permanent in the ratio of its increased specific gravity. Were the proportion of lead twice the atomic quantity, the surface of the glass would be more or less liable to decompose by exposure to the atmosphere, and need constant wiping to preserve its transparency; it might even require to be repolished for the same object, and that repeatedly. Excess of alkali is equally as injurious

as excess of lead, and indeed more destructive, through the effects of time and atmospheric influence. . . . For many years subsequent to the time of the celebrated Dollond, English flint glass was almost the only heavy glass used for telescopes, both at home and on the continent. It was generally made from the usual mixture of flint glass with about ten per cent. increase of lead; but still more often of the ordinary mixture (of lead and other materials), and of the specific gravity of about 3.250 to 3.350. The process is as follows:—A ladle in the form of a sugar-loaf, about five inches in diameter, and seven inches deep, is dipped carefully into the metal, which has been previously skimmed; when filled, it is taken out of the pot, and suffered to get partially cool. To the large end of the sugar-loaf-shaped piece of glass thus produced, a glass-blowing iron, with a hollow stalk, is welded, and placed to the opening in the mouth of the pot for re-heating. When sufficiently soft, it is blown into a “muff;” the end furthest from the blowing-iron is cut off, the cylinder is flattened into pieces or plates of fourteen inches long, ten inches wide, and of about half an inch thick, and annealed—in which state the plates are sold to the optician for cutting and grinding into disks.

‘Since the time of Guinand, of Brenette, in Switzerland, and of Frauenhofer, and others, who have done good service to science by their meritorious labours and improvements, the opticians of England have imported many large-sized achromatic glasses from the continent; although the British manufacturer (who only occasionally makes for home use) still supplies eminent foreign workers with glass for optical purposes, some of which, no doubt, finds its way back into England, as foreign, at a very advanced price. Guinand’s plan has already been published. The secret of his success is considered not to have been in the novelty of the materials or proportions, but in agitating the liquid glass while at the highest point of fusion; then cooling down the entire contents of the pot in a mass, and, when annealed and cool, by cleavage separating unstriated portions, and afterwards softening into clay moulds. Dr. Faraday is of opinion that the usual materials of British flint-glass are excellent; and that the necessary improvement is chiefly mechanical, and not chemical. As a proof, the very heavy glass he has produced owes its freedom from striæ to his plan of constant agitation, as detailed in a paper communicated to the Royal Society, in the year 1829. M. Bontemps, a scientific French glass-maker, has succeeded in making good flint optical glass also, on the principle of mechanical agitation, and was rewarded for his process by the French Society of Arts in 1840. In the year 1845, he published the result of his experiments. . . . On examining the records of these practical modes of obtaining the best achromatic flint glass, it will be found that our philosophic countryman, Dr. Faraday (the plan of Guinand being then a secret), suggested the same idea of stirring, which was carried out successfully in the heavy glass he manufactured.’—Pp. 42—44.

The management of a large glasshouse in England differs from that of a similar establishment in France in an important particular. In the latter, the work is carried on continuously;

in the former, the men work only four or five days in the week, when the pots are refilled. This system is undoubtedly an expensive one, but what we may term vested right, or at any rate an old-established custom, on the part of both workmen and managers, renders a change, however desirable, very difficult.

‘In a glasshouse in England, the pots are filled but once a week, usually on Friday or Saturday morning. Wood vessels, like hand-barrows, are used for bringing to the furnace the mixed materials, which are thrown into pots holding about 18 cwt. each, in quantities of about 4 cwt. at a time, with iron shovels, allowing sufficient time between each filling for melting down the various charges, until the pot is entirely filled with fused glass. By this method, every pot in the furnace is fully charged with liquid metal in about twelve to fifteen hours; air-bubbles and striæ then abound, and they are not expelled until thirty to forty hours more have elapsed, during which period—viz., from fifty to sixty hours—the gas and air-bubbles are driven off, and the mass becomes homogeneous. English melting-pots being usually much larger than the French, require a longer period for fusion, thus increasing the difficulty if a second filling be required during the week; but the glass is not usually so pure as the first, through less time being allowed for the second fusion. When all the pots are filled, and the mouths are securely stoppered, clayed up, the founding commences, during which thirty to forty hours (as before alluded to) the furnace is urged to its utmost intensity. No pyrometer is used, as the heat varies according to the condition of the furnace, aspect and intensity of the wind, quality of the fuel, and attention and tact of the *tiseur*, attendant, or stoker. Nevertheless, there are certain signs by which a practised eye can detect the fitness or unfitness of the metal for working. These are—the whiteness of the flame exuding from the furnace on each side of the pot; also, by occasionally withdrawing, with an iron rod, a little of the melted glass from the top of the metal, through a small sight-hole in the stopper, and at fixed times taking proofs of the metal. Saturday and Sunday are the days when the furnace requires the greatest heat, so that the working may be commenced early on Monday morning.’—Pp. 47, 48.

Mr. Pellatt gives an animated description of the operation of setting a pot in the furnace, when through age or accident an old pot must be removed, and a fresh one substituted in its place:—

‘Before setting in the glass-furnace, great care is necessary to anneal a pot in the arch, and a week or more should be allowed gradually to bring it to a white heat, ready for pot-setting. This work is always performed towards the end of the week, and is a hot and fatiguing operation. All hands must be present, and absentees, except from illness, are severely fined. The men are provided with suitable dresses, to shield them from the open blaze of the furnace. The old pot, being no longer useful by age or accident, is then exposed, by pulling down the temporary brickwork. A large iron bar, steeled and

sharpened at the point, is placed across another bar, to operate under the pot as a fulcrum. Several men rest their entire weight on the end of this long lever, and after one or many efforts, and perhaps many more simultaneous blows of the bar, used as a sort of battering-ram—the old pot, either wholly or by pieces, is detached from the siege of the furnace. About six or eight men take afterwards each a bar about five feet long, like a javelin, steeled and sharpened at one end. They rush forward in face of the fiery furnace, guarding their faces with their protecting arms, and aim a blow at such of the irregular rocky incrustations of clay as adhere to the siege. This operation is repeated until the pieces of partially vitrified clay are wholly removed from the position on which the old pot stood, which should be repaired with clay and sand. The new pot, at a white heat, is then removed from the annealing pot-arch, and carried on the end of a two-wheeled iron carriage, with a long handle, by four or more workmen, who carefully set it, or tilt it backwards into its proper position in the furnace.’—Pp. 53, 54.

The proper management of the remarkable process of annealing is one upon which, as much as upon that of the glass-furnaces, the success of the manufacturer largely depends; and nothing but a minute acquaintance with the oftentimes inexplicable behaviour of glass in cooling, and of the best methods of effecting that process, will ensure the safety and perfection of the articles, however skilfully conducted may have been the previous steps of their manufacture. The difficulties attending the operation of annealing are given in detail by our author. We may select one or two points of interest from this portion of his work:—

‘The time for annealing varies from six to sixty hours, the weighty articles requiring the most heat and time. The best arrangements for annealing may be foiled, should the glass-blower unnecessarily lose time after finishing the work, as the hotter the goods enter the arch, the better. On this account, the large goods receive a final reheating at the mouth of a pot heated by beech-wood, and called the glory hole. Successful annealing depends much upon the proper direction of the wind. The best aspect for this purpose is when it passes over the fuel of the hear, towards the hear chimney, so that the hot air is always radiating in the downward current upon the goods.’—P. 65.

‘Annealing may sometimes appear complete in glass articles that have borne the friction of deep cutting, which, when long after exposed to the influence of the atmosphere, become fractured, as it were, spontaneously. A large quantity of flint or compound glass, manufactured at the Falcon Works (of a beautiful topaz tint, coloured by uranium, which became richer in hue by diminishing the usual proportion of lead and by increasing the alkali), fractured three months after it was cut. Complaints from purchasers at home and abroad reached the Works, and the whole had to be replaced at the expense of the manufacturer. Excess of alkali causes continual exudation, the cementing property escapes, entire fracture is the result, and no

remedy can check the evil. A piece of ancient light blue glass, since it came into the possession of the British Museum, has spontaneously fractured, and some parts almost to pulverization—an effect caused by its excess or impurity of alkali.'—Pp. 71, 72.

A minute description of the various and interesting manipulating processes concerned in the formation of different articles, from a wine-glass up to a lamp-shade, is given, and is rendered so clear by accompanying illustrations, as to bring the glass house and its busy scenes before the eyes of the reader. We shall not detain our readers by dwelling on these simple and familiar, although, in reality, difficult and dexterous operations, but we must, in passing to the more curious portion of the book, just make room for the following extract :—

'The manipulatory operations of glass-making are totally dissimilar to casting metals of any kind. Scarcely any advance in this department of the manufacture has been made for above two hundred years; and the tools then used for blowing and shaping the various articles have been since but little improved. The reason is obvious; the formation of the infinite variety of wares produced in flint-glass houses, relies more upon skill, adroitness, and tact, which may be termed the *MAIN-D'ŒUVRE* of the art, than upon the ingenuity of the tools:—in truth, the perfection of the product of the furnace, as regards its workmanship, depends chiefly upon the tact and intuition of the glass-blower, avoiding, as much as possible, the use of tools.'—P. 61.

Many of our readers have, doubtless, been puzzled to account for the opaque white and spiral lines sometimes seen in the shanks of ornamental glasses, and which, included in the transparent stem, present a very singular aspect. The following is our author's description of the method in which such curiosities of the glass-house are formed :—

'As glass-house manipulators, the Venetians were pre-eminent; they produced, if not the most elegant, at least extremely curious work. In the manufacture of glass beads, the Venetians have no rival, their price being far below English competition. The Venetian glasses, termed 'filligree,' have recently been made in France and Bohemia, and a few specimens in England. Before ornaments or vessels can be blown, small filligree canes, with white or variously coloured enamels, must be drawn by the following process :—Pieces of plain, coloured, or opaque white cane, previously drawn, are first whetted off to the required lengths, and then put into a cylindrical mould, with suitable internal recesses; and both cane and mould are thus submitted to a moderate heat. The selection of the colour of the canes depends upon the taste of the manufacturer; two to four enamelled canes are chiefly used, alternately, with about half the number of coloured. The blower then prepares a solid ball of transparent glass, which, being deposited in contact with the various canes, at a welding heat, causes them to

adhere. This solid ball is then released from the mould, is reheated, and marvered,* till the adhering projecting ornamental canes are rubbed into one uniform mass; the ball is next covered with a gathering of white glass, which must then be drawn to any size and length that may be required.'—Pp. 108, 109.

Within the last year, 'the Venetian balls,' and 'Mille Fiore' glass of Venice, have come largely into fashion, and on their first re-introduction, excited great astonishment. It seemed impossible to comprehend how such exquisitely chaste and delicate designs could be included in a ball of solid glass, to which there was no apparent opening. Some of them were like miniature coral-rock, seen through a globe of transparent water. We trust the accompanying explanation of the method of their manufacture may be sufficiently intelligible, although it loses much from the absence of the illustrations:—

'The Venetian ball is a collection of waste pieces of filligree glass, conglomerated together, without regular design; this is packed into a pocket of transparent glass, which is adhesively collapsed upon the interior mass by sucking up, producing outward pressure of the atmosphere. Some of the ancient specimens have apparently been decomposed on the exterior, but can be again restored by the glasscutter's polishing wheels.'—Pp. 109, 110.

'The *Mille Fiore*, or star-work of the Venetians, is more regular in design than the balls, but of the same character. It was formed by placing lozenges of glass, cut from the ends of filligree canes, ranging them in regular or irregular devices, and encasing them in flint transparent glass. A double transparent glass cone receives the lozenges between the two surfaces. The whole is reheated; a hollow disk communicating with the blowing-iron, adheres to the neck, and the air is exhausted or sucked out of the double case. After being rewarmed, it becomes one homogeneous mass, and can be shaped into a tazza, paper-weight, &c., at pleasure.'—P. 110.

One of the most beautiful productions of the Venetian glass-houses, is the celebrated *Vitro di Trino*. It is a variety of filligree glass, but instead of the sides of the vessels formed in this manner being of one piece, they are formed of two layers, welded together, leaving in the intervals between the crossings of the filligree lines, by which a lattice-work appearance is given to the glass, a minute bubble of air. Such glass is curiously light and beautiful. The merit of re-discovering the method of its manufacture, and also of that of the old frosted glass of Venice, in our country, belongs, we believe, to the author of the work before us.

'Frosted glass, like the *Vitro di Trino*, is one of the specimens of Venetian work not previously made by the Egyptians and Romans, and

* That is, rolled on a smooth cast-iron table.

not since executed by Bohemian or French glass-makers. The process of making it, until recently practised at the Falcon Glass Works, was considered a lost art. It has irregularly veined marble, like projecting dislocations, with intervening fissures. Suddenly plunging hot glass into cold water, produces crystalline convex fractures, with a polished exterior, like Derbyshire spar; but the concave intervening fissures are caused, first, by chilling, and then reheating at the furnace, and simultaneously expanding the reheated ball of glass by blowing, thus separating the crystals from each other, and leaving open fissures between, which is done preparatory to forming vases or ornaments. Although frosted glass appears covered with fractures, it is perfectly sonorous.'—Pp. 116, 117.

Many beautiful specimens of what is commonly known amongst us as Bohemian glass, are now to be found in the glass-dealer's shop. Several of these exhibit two, or even three colours, according to the depth and manner in which they are cut. Such glass is in reality formed by casing the various layers of colour upon a central ball of flint glass :—

'The principle of casing a layer of colour upon flint crystal glass, or as many layers or varieties of colour on each other as may be required, was well known to the ancients who made the Portland and Naples vases. Only one operation need be explained, as every additional coating is merely a repetition of the same process. Presuming, therefore, that any two or more glasses intended for casing have been mixed of the same specific gravity, to give them the capability of harmonizing,—that is, contracting and expanding equally,—the blower has to gather a ball of solid glass, intended for the interior layer, in the usual manner, which, in this instance, may be considered to be of white crystal glass. About the same time, his assistant prepares a casing of colour, knocking off the knob, to open and shape it somewhat like the bowl of a wine-glass, or the broad end of a large egg-shell; this is set into a metal stand, on the floor, merely to steady the case, or shell; while the blower takes the lump of flint, or white glass, and gently blows it into the coloured case, or shell, to which it immediately adheres; and when submitted to the flame of a pot-hole, or, if a large piece, to the flame of the castor-hole, it is found to weld perfectly. If various coverings are needed, as many coloured shells must be prepared as required, and each melted in by fresh warming, until the entire number are obtained and cased. The whole are afterwards rewarmed, expanded, and shaped into vases, tazzas, or such other articles as the manufacturer requires, by blowing, and the usual appliances of moulds, tools, and rotatory motion.'—Pp. 114, 115.

Another curious art of the glass manufacturer consists in imbedding casts of various kinds in a mass of glass; medallions, coats of arms, small figures, and a variety of objects, may be thus introduced into the body of the glass, where they are imperishably entombed. This art is called that of cameo-incrustation.

‘Cameo incrustation was unknown to the ancients, and was first introduced by the Bohemians, probably about a century since; and bas-relief casts of busts, and medals, were entirely isolated by them within a coating or mass of white flint glass. The figure intended for incrustation must be made of materials that will require a higher degree of heat for their fusion than the glass within which it is to be incrustated; these are China clay, and super-silicate of potash, ground and mixed in such proportions as upon experiment harmonize with the density of the glass; and this, when moulded into a bas-relief or bust (in plaster of Paris moulds), should be slightly baked, and then suffered gradually to cool; or the cameos may be kept in readiness till required for incrustation, for which purpose they should be carefully reheated to redness in a small Stourbridge clay muffle. A cylindrical flint-glass pocket is then prepared, one end adhering to a hollow iron rod, with an opening at the other extremity, into which the hot composition figure is introduced, the end is then collapsed and welded together by pressure, at a red heat, so that the figure is in the centre of the hollow hot pocket glass muffle. The workman next applies his mouth at the end of the tube, while rewarming the glass at the other extremity; but instead of blowing, he exhausts the air, thus perfecting the collapse by atmospheric pressure, and causing the glass and composition figure to be of one homogeneous mass.’—Pp. 119, 120.

Mr. Pellatt's book is faithful to its title, and cannot be dipped into anywhere without gleaning some curious particulars upon the interesting and important manufacture of which it treats. Mr. Pellatt will, however, doubtless pardon us if we tell him that his work contains an example of the most frightful surgery, in the anecdote which he relates of an unfortunate man who was severely scalded, and was then sluiced with cold water from a pump! It is infinitely surprising that the poor fellow did not perish outright under this treatment; and it may not be unserviceable to mention that, should such another, or similar accident take place in the glass-house, the sufferer had far better be wrapped up in a blanket and sent home, than be put under the pump. It were well in such cases to imitate the practice of the Carron Iron Foundry, and to apply instantly the famous Carron application, formed of linseed oil and lime-water. The getting up of the work is such as to entitle it to a place on the drawing-room table, and it is abundantly illustrated with wood-cuts. There are also several plates in colours, representing ancient and modern varieties of the glass-making art. The book supplies a place hitherto vacant; and from the popularity of its style, as well as the attractiveness of its garb, is likely to enjoy a wide favour among all who regard with interest the manufactures of Great Britain.

As we look back upon the origin of glass, we may well exclaim, Who may venture to despise ‘the day of small things?’

who may presume to set limits to the value and application even of apparently the humblest discoveries permitted by the superintending providence of God? But for what we now know of the important uses which this substance subserves, we might have called it an accident which first revealed the method of its rude formation on the Belian shore. Without question, that apparently fortuitous circumstance had its appointed place assigned to it by Him who governs and controls the minutest particulars of our world's history, causing them to accomplish all the good pleasure of his will, and in this, and many similar instances, producing, out of means insignificant in themselves, benefits of the widest and most extended nature to mankind. We cannot do better than close our article with an extract from Dr. Johnson:—

‘Who, when he first saw the sand and ashes, by a casual intenseness of heat, melted into a metalline form, rugged with excrescences and clouded with impurities, would have imagined that in this shapeless lump lay concealed so many conveniences of life as would, in time, constitute a great part of the happiness of the world? Yet by some such fortuitous liquefaction was mankind taught to procure a body at once in a high degree solid and transparent; which might admit the light of the sun and exclude the violence of the wind; which might extend the sight of the philosopher to new ranges of existence, and charm him, at one time, with the unbounded extent of material creation, and at another, with the endless subordination of animal life; and, what is yet of more importance, might supply the decays of nature, and succour old age with subsidiary sight. Thus was the first artificer in glass employed, though without his knowledge or expectation. He was facilitating and prolonging the enjoyment of light, enlarging the avenues of science, and conferring the highest and most lasting pleasures; he was enabling the student to contemplate nature, and the beauty to behold herself.’

ART. IV.—*The Scripture Testimony to the Messiah; an Inquiry with a View to a satisfactory Determination of the Doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures concerning the Person of Christ.* By John Pye Smith, D.D., F.R.S. In Two Vols. 8vo. Fourth Edition. London: Jackson and Walford.

MANY besides ourselves have given a cordial welcome to this new and greatly-improved edition of Dr. Pye Smith's ‘Scripture Testimony to the Messiah.’ To illustrate in detail the character of a work three large editions of which have already passed

into the hands of biblical students, and to the uncommon excellence of which the most competent judges have uniformly, and without distinction of sect or party, borne their willing and explicit testimony, is not necessary. Previous volumes of this journal have indeed more than once reported our judgment respecting it. It is not, however, the ordinary lot of elaborate treatises in divinity, to retain their hold on the public favour to the extent, or for the length of time, which this has done. Still less frequent is it in these days of change, that such a work should for so long a period enjoy the reputation of being the standard modern publication on the subject of which it treats. While this circumstance justifies our notice of the present fourth edition, we are the more inclined to draw the attention of our readers to it, by the conviction that the lasting reputation of the work is partly due to the exemplary care and diligence which have rendered every edition a real improvement on its predecessor.

In the present edition, the author has given additional explanations respecting his views on inspiration. Former readers of his work will probably remember not only his candid statement of the difficulties which prevented his regarding the Song of Solomon as an inspired book, but the controversy which that statement occasioned. Dr. Smith has followed up this subject as few men either could or dared have done. Standing far above the ordinary causes of self-vindication, and conscious of no motive which should induce him on that more than any other question, to make 'the worse appear the better cause,' he has honourably noticed the papers in which the statement of his difficulties was attacked; and gracefully, as well as gratefully, acknowledged that, as to the inspiration of the book referred to, his difficulties, so far as they rested on a supposed deficiency of evidence as to the canonical reception of it in the Apostolic age, have been neutralized. He adheres, however,—and at this we are not surprised,—to his former judgment respecting the application of the book. We consider the following observations, taken from this new edition, the latter part of them especially, to deserve the most attentive consideration of all who are accustomed to deal loosely with biblical hermeneutics:—

'Yet I am, unhappily perhaps for myself, compelled to acknowledge that heavy difficulties still adhere to me as to the *application* of the book. All that my examiners have written falls short of convincing me that a *spiritual* meaning can be established. The instances of scripture allegory to which they refer, and to the most of which I had also referred, appear to me inapplicable; for notwithstanding what my friends have said, to my perception every one of them carries its figurative character upon its own front: but I cannot perceive that the

Song of Solomon does so. The spiritual oneness of the Saviour and his faithful people, represented by different kinds of union, natural and constituted, and by the marriage union among the rest, is exhibited in scripture, as comprehending on the one side, the Lord Jesus Christ in his divine glory and mediatorial fulness, and on the other, the *Church*, the whole company of the 'called, and chosen, and faithful.' This *collective body* is figuratively made *one person*, 'the bride, the Lamb's wife.' But this representation does not involve the appropriation of the figure, whether taken as a passing metaphor or a continued allegory, to *individual* Christians. The imagery which represents 'CHRIST and the *Church*' does not warrant *each* believer to take to himself that which is characteristically predicable of the *whole body considered as one*. The figure of representing a *sovereign* as the husband, and the *nation* composed of his subjects as the wife, was not infrequent among the ancients; but it could not have been legitimate for any individual of the nation to apply the figure personally.'—Vol. i. p. 35.

The whole of the Supplementary Note A, to Book I., chap. iv., relating to inspiration, and enriched in the present edition with new matter, is eminently valuable. It presents all the most relevant information, carefully digested, and exhibited in the smallest compass perspicuity admitted of. It occupies ten closely-printed pages of this very compressed, though clearly and beautifully printed edition.

In a similar way the Supplementary Note B, Book I., chap. iv., is enriched with new additions, partly from works of value which have been published since the appearance of the third edition. As instances, we may refer to Dr. Henderson's elaborate work on 'Inspiration' (the 'Congregational Lecture for 1836'), Gaussen's 'Theopneustia,' and Stanley's 'Life of Dr. Arnold.' It is hardly necessary to say, that Dr. Smith has not adopted Gaussen's theory of verbal inspiration. Whoever has done so, would indeed do well to read, not merely the note before referred to, but the new matter written expressly in reference to this theory, and printed in pages 58 and following of vol. i. The extract from Dr. Arnold's Life is taken from the very beautiful letter,—one which, we doubt not, many of our readers will remember,—written by the Rev. Benj. Price to Mr. Stanley respecting the characteristics of Dr. Arnold as a student of the word of God.

We must quit this subject of inspiration by repeating the judgment we expressed twelve years ago, that the broad and candid manner in which it is treated in this work, and the assistance which the work affords, sometimes directly, sometimes incidentally, to the understanding of the Holy Scriptures, give it a pre-eminent value. As an instance of the direct contributions on this subject, we cannot forbear mentioning again, though

noticed in our review of the last edition, the essay from Dr. Seiler on 'the mode in which the human mind acquires its knowledge of God.' This essay is given in the Appendix, vol. ii. pp. 434—445.

Our readers may form a judgment of the various character and subjects of the new matter in the present edition from the mention of the works which have either furnished or suggested it. Among them occur, Gliddon on 'Ancient Egypt,' Fairbairn's 'Typology,' Elliott's 'Horæ Apocalypticæ,' Kenrick's 'Farewell Discourse at Hampstead,' Michaelis's 'Typische Gottesgelartheit,' Dr. Stroud on 'the Physical Cause of the Death of Christ,' Frechsel's 'Protestantische Antitrinitarier,' &c., Robinson's 'Researches in Palestine,' Tholuck's 'Beilage zum Kommentare a.d. Hebräer Brief,' Wilson's 'Illustrations of the Method of Explaining the New Testament by the Early Opinions of Jews and Christians concerning Christ,' and various papers in the leading periodicals. Few, however, of our readers need be told, that in theological, biblical, and physical science, Dr. Pye Smith is omniverous—that from Tholuck's 'Ssufismus' to the tract on 'Poor Joseph,' nothing comes amiss to him—that he has instinctively as great a veneration for printed paper as the Turk has for a scrap of manuscript. For as the Prophet's faithful follower does not know that the little bit of writing may not contain the sacred name of Allah, so Dr. Smith seems to believe that there is hardly a page on which the iron teeth of Cadmus have left their mark which may not be a record of some wisdom. And usually he is right; for as 'to the pure all things are pure,' there is hardly any book or paper, however trivial in itself, which will not suggest to the thoughtful that which is worth reflecting on.

Of the works last enumerated, one of the most remarkable is, Wilson's 'Illustrations, &c.,' published in 1797, but which appears to have been little known till it was republished in 1838, by Dr. Turton, who, in the advertisement which he prefixed to his reprint, speaks of it as being, in his estimation, 'one of the most valuable works that have ever appeared on any subject.' We so cordially concur in his and Dr. Smith's appreciation of it, that with the view of recommending it to the notice of some who might otherwise continue ignorant of it, we shall select the only other extract we have room for from the remarks which Dr. Smith has offered in reference to the occasion which called it forth, and the author's competency to his undertaking.

'The point to be elucidated is the following.

'Mr. Theophilus Lindsey, Mr. Belsham, and Unitarians in general, regard Dr. Priestley as having "established beyond all dispute" that "*the great body of primitive Christians, both Jews and Gentiles, for the*

two first centuries and upwards, were Unitarians, and believers in the simple humanity of Jesus Christ."—"The early Unitarians, being the mass of believers, few of whom were philosophers and speculative men, had not many writers among them, and few of their works are now extant. All that we know of them is from the writings of their adversaries. It is, however, certain that they abounded in the Apostolic age; and that they long constituted a very large proportion, and probably even the majority, of believers, may be reasonably inferred from their having no appropriate name; also, from their not being excommunicated, like the Gnostics, and branded as heretics, which they certainly would have been if Arians or Trinitarians had at that time possessed the ascendancy."—"It being thus established by competent evidence, that the great body of Jewish Christians at the end of the second century were believers in the proper humanity of Jesus Christ, and this testimony remaining wholly uncontradicted, there being no proof whatever that any church of orthodox Jews ever existed; it follows by direct consequence, that the Jewish Church must have been Unitarian from the very beginning."—"The direct evidence of the Unitarianism of the great body of Gentile Christians, even as low down as the Council of Nice [A.D. 325] is, if possible, still more clear and satisfactory than that of the Jewish believers."—*Calm Inquiry*, pp. 398, 403, 411, 413.

'The kind of evidence on which Dr. Priestley conceived that he had established these conclusions has just been described;* and in its theory, nothing could be more fair. The difficulty lay in reducing it to practice. For this no genius could suffice, no talent; without abandoning every employment but the toiling for continuous years in a rugged labour which required an unusual facility of patristic reading, a penetration into darkly latent implications, a strength of memory, a power of combination, and withal, an unconquerable patience of labour, such as we can [hardly] hope to see realized. It is no reflection upon Dr. Priestley to say that such a kind and amount of toil was utterly impossible for him; and would have been for any man in his circumstances, during the period in which he composed his 'History of Corruptions,' and that of 'Early Opinions concerning Jesus Christ.'

. . . A man like Mr. Porson possessed some of the essential requisites for a work of this kind; but it is not likely that he would have maintained the seriousness or exercised the patience which were equally necessary; and he would have ridiculed the idea of performing it in double the time that Dr. Priestley took.

* *I. e.* Script. Test. vol. ii. p. 465, in the following extract from Mr. Belsham:—"The evidence which the learned historian of "Early Opinions" chiefly produces, and upon which he lays the principal stress is that of inadvertent concession, of incidental remark, of complaint, of caution, of affected candour, of apology, of inference, which, though indirect, is at the same time, the most satisfactory to the inquisitive and reflective mind. It is that species of evidence which judicious readers so much admire in Paley's "Horæ Paulinæ," and similar to that by which the rapid progress, and consequently the truth, of the Christian religion is established by the unwilling testimony of heathen writers."—*Belsham's Vindication*, p. 90.

‘But it does appear that Mr. Wilson *was* THE MAN qualified for the same severe toil, that he devoted probably the eight years of his fellowship to it, that he succeeded in the enterprise, and then died.

‘Two things especially were wanted. First, such a familiarity with the manner of thought and the style of the Fathers, respectively, as would secure from any misapprehension of the *particular passages* on which the inquiry had been made to hinge; and such a clear knowledge and comprehensive association of the matter spread over seventy folio volumes, besides many of smaller size, as would place and keep in complete perspicuity the *whole field* of view. These requisites, which Dr. Priestley did not and could not possess, it appears evident that Mr. Wilson did.’—Vol. ii. pp. 467—469.

The extracts which Dr. Smith then gives from Mr. Wilson’s work go far to justify the commendation which he had bestowed upon it. But as he truly says, ‘the impartial inquirer will not satisfy himself without the possession of the book.’

It is needless to enlarge on the improvement which the ‘Scripture Testimony’ has received by being condensed into two volumes. The type, though not so large as in the previous edition, is remarkably clear and distinct, and the face of the page is handsome. When so much has been done to make the work accessible to a larger class by compression and consequent reduction of price, it may seem ungrateful even to hint a wish that condensation had been carried further. But there are two things, if not three, which in our judgment are yet needful, to raise these volumes to the highest point of usefulness and value. The first is to excise a large portion of purely collateral information, especially that which relates to subjects of local or denominational interest. We can easily understand the pleasure which it gave to Dr. Smith, when referring to a piece by a deceased friend, the late Rev. Wm. Parry, to add—‘who for many years, till his lamented death, filled with distinguished ability the office of Theological Tutor in the Academy formerly under Mr. Belsham, at Daventry, afterwards dissolved, and in 1799 re-established at Wymondley, the institution which was originally under the presidency of Dr. Doddridge, and for whose renovated purity, and usefulness to the cause of scriptural religion, I offer up the cordial prayer, May they ever flourish!’ It was doubtless a satisfaction to Dr. Smith to write these kind and genuine expressions of feeling, but we cannot help thinking that it would have been in better keeping with the general contents and object of the work, especially as intended for readers of all denominations, to have said merely the late Rev. Wm. Parry, of Wymondley. Equally agreeable to Dr. Smith, as a gentleman and scholar, we can conceive it to have been, to take, or rather make, an ‘opportunity of expressing’ his ‘sense

of the obligation which the cause of Christian learning and piety is under to the Professors of the Andover Theological Seminary in the United States ;' but we must avow our conviction that the particular details which he has entered into, would have been more *apropos* in a survey of biblical literature, or a review, than in a work expressly devoted to the elucidation of the proper deity of Jesus. Besides, if Dr. Smith has not said too much respecting these American authors, he has said too little. His omission of several distinguished names has all the consequences of injustice. And we are even afraid that we shall cause our venerable friend a sincere feeling of sorrow when we remind him that the list which contains the names of Bush, Park, and Agnew, excludes those of Turner, Stow, Coleman, Hodge, and Alexander. A still more superfluous instance occurs in vol. i. p. 63, where Dr. Smith, having named John Frederic Stapfer, formerly professor of theology at Berne, and author of various works in Latin and German, adds a note to say, that 'his nephew was the patriot, statesman, philosopher, and Christian, to whom the civil and religious interests of Switzerland and France are under indelible obligations, *Philip Albert Stapfer*, the author, &c. &c.,' which note he finishes with an extract from the '*Semeur*' of April, 1840, to tell us when and in what spirit this nephew died. This information we concede is not uninteresting, but it is certainly out of place.

An equally evident superfluity, and indeed a serious blemish, is the string of honorary epithets which Dr. Smith so commonly attaches to the names of authors, particularly those of Germany. This, too, we are well aware, is the result of amiable feeling, but neither this nor any other cause we know of, can render generally palatable such superfluous commendations as the following :—'The learned, moderate, and judicious Morus of Leipzig, after a minute examination, concludes, &c.,' vol. ii. p. 24.—'Another of the three celebrated men (Porson, Parr, and Burney) who in our times have adorned ancient learning, inflicted, &c.,' vol. iii. p. 23.—'Koppe, the pupil and extolled friend of Heyne, who, &c.,' *ib.* p. 39.—'The eminently learned Frederick Spanheim the younger,' *ib.* p. 202.—'The no less learned and judicious, than piously reverential Tholuck,' &c.,' vol. i. p. 209.—'J. D. Michaelis, a scholar of the first order in oriental and biblical subjects, and a critic not apt to be discouraged by obstacles, &c.,' *ib.* p. 180.—'The elder Schultens, whom Michaelis pronounces to have been "the greatest master of oriental learning in his age," &c.,' *ib.* p. 193.—'The profound and accurate Schultens, &c.,' *ib.* p. 307.—'The judicious and candid Dathe, &c.,' *ib.* p. 306.

These instances are not selected as individually remarkable ;

they represent a prevailing habit and characteristic feature of the volumes. Neither is it pretended that all of them, or of the class they represent, are equally superfluous. The information imparted in *some* of them, if not now necessary, was so perhaps at the time the earlier editions were prepared. But we are speaking in reference to the future; and we are very decidedly of opinion, that the time is coming when most of these epithets will be regarded by all readers as redundancies which merely disfigure the work.

It also seems to us that the frequent repetition of such expressions implies an undue deference to the authority of learned names. We know well enough that Dr. Smith is not addicted to pin his faith or judgment on any man's sleeve. We wish he were equally clear in this respect of seeming to do it.

If there be any other alteration we might venture to propose to the respected author of these volumes, it is, that he would revise them carefully, for the special purpose of excluding, *as far as the nature of the case will admit*, the matter which is chiefly relevant as having suggested the course of his argument. Many of Dr. Priestley's and Mr. Belsham's crudities, annihilated long since by Dr. Smith, are no longer deserving of even embalmment in his volumes: let them be forgotten as they deserve! Dr. Smith's argument is often independent of the citations from his opponents, or may easily be made so; and we should especially hail the condensation and partial change of character which would result from the exclusion of Mr. Belsham's flippant and sometimes impious sayings, as a decided improvement of the work.

We offer these suggestions to Dr. Smith most respectfully, and with our unfeigned thanks for this excellent and moderately-priced edition of his volumes, which, we trust, will impart to future generations the same benefit and pleasure which the present have derived from them.

ART. V.—*Expedition to Discover the Sources of the White Nile, in the Years 1840, 1841.* By Ferdinand Werné. From the German. By Charles William O'Reilly. In Two Vols. London: Bentley. 1849.

THERE is a tendency in mankind to make in all things mountains of mole-hills, and become the slaves of an exaggerated or false enthusiasm. This is particularly the case in what is called the science of geography. Men have devoted their lives to dis-

coveries useful to none but mapmakers, that idle speculators at home might obtain fresh materials for disputation. It is not, consequently, in a scientific light that we view with pleasure exploring voyages; we look upon them rather as exhibitions of the spirit of adventure and courage, whose reward is in themselves. The man who views new countries and makes the acquaintance of strange tribes, who traverses deserts or mountains never trodden by the foot of civilized traveller before, enjoys a pleasure that repays him for all his toils, whether the scientific world smile upon his labours or not. If he survive the enterprise, to what does he look back in after life with greatest delight? Is it to the circumstance that he has added perhaps to the ethnologist's list of nations—that he has discovered fifty new species of butterflies—or that he has placed beyond doubt the fact that such or such a river takes its rise in the second degree of north latitude, and not, as geographers used to suppose, in the fourth or fifth? No; but he remembers his own sensations—the beautiful sunrisings or sunsets he saw—the rapturous delight with which in such or such a place he breathed the incense of the morning—the displays of beauty, animate or inanimate, which met his eye—the friendships he formed, though few and fleeting—the affection he excited—the expressions of regret with which he was dismissed from this or that city, or desert encampment.

No class of individuals is more trifling than your mere sight-seeing travellers. They move about with a busy, bustling, fussy aspect, intended to impress people with an idea of their importance, in which they never succeed. To travel in reality, is to expose your mind within a short space of time to a thousand influences which could never have reached it at home; and thus to enrich and ripen it, as certain wines are enriched and ripened by being carried through a succession of different climates. And the sense of home, instead of being destroyed by this process, is rendered keener. You feel that you are only laying up wealth for it, only storing up ideas which may render it luminous in future days. Yet these considerations are merely incidental. The true source of your enjoyment lies in the exertion of mental and physical energy—in struggling with and surmounting difficulties—in quitting the precincts of your peculiar civilization to return for a while towards the savage state, with all its wild pleasures, its dangers, its vicissitudes, its sacrifices and privations, its hopes and fears.

To enjoy, however, all these feelings in perfection, you must visit countries once civilized, on whose surface empire has left its lasting traces, where mighty nations have lived, and fought, and perished. Nothing can make up to the traveller for the

want of the historical element. Where that exists, the earth itself seems in the stillness of night to utter audible sounds, imperfect revelations of the past. At least, you expect something like this ; you interrogate it, you listen, you meditate, you imagine, you converse with the shades of the dead. Everything for you is invested with associations. Here you behold the birthplace of some great poet or philosopher ; there, in Greece, for example, you say, Socrates sat and talked, and Plato and Xenophon listened. In yonder street, by the solitary palm-tree, Aspasia's beauty passed, flashing before the beholders like a star ; and down there upon the plain, the fiery and aspiring demos of Athens thronged tumultuously to listen to matchless eloquence. Other associations, different, but scarcely less poetical, people the shores of the Nile. Three deep layers of interest stretch along their whole extent, from the Mediterranean far up towards the interior—the traditions of Scripture, the associations of classical times, and the upper network of details spread over the whole by Mohamedan history. To travel profitably, therefore, in Egypt, a man should be familiar with all the events and annals of mankind. It is not enough to be a diligent student of the Scriptures, neither will it do to study exclusively the remains of classical antiquity ; you must understand the Arab character, influenced by the tenets of El-Islam, and be familiar with those wonderful narratives which Europe knows under the name of 'The Thousand and One Nights.'

When one has a certain tincture of this knowledge, he soon falls in with the habits of thought of the Arabs, and acquires an inexplicable affection for the Nile. They say, that whoever has lived once upon its banks, and tasted of its waters, will always experience a longing to return, thus confounding it with that lotus-tasting of the ancient Egyptians, which made a man forget his home, his country, and his friends, and prefer to them all the delights of the Nilotic valley. Doubtless, a river is but a river, and consists of a certain number of particles of water rolling down through a hollow channel from a higher to a lower level. But whoever beholds the Nile meandering lovingly through the country it has created, washing the feet of beautiful cities, reflecting palm-trees and antique ruins, and bestowing happiness and abundance on millions of men, will be able, at least, to comprehend the superstition of the mummy-makers, who gave it the name of Osiris, and worshipped it like a god. There is an air of mystery over it everywhere, not for all perhaps, but certainly for those whose imaginations have been impregnated by the weird spirit of antiquity.

But independently of the influence of the past, what you now behold in the valley of the Nile, especially as you ascend and

draw near, or pass within the tropics, is sufficient to awaken very powerful feelings. On either hand are ridges of mountains, looking, in the sun-glare or moonlight, like a portion of the globe's skeleton. Then you have a verdant valley converted once a year into a sea, over whose glassy surface, towns, villages, and ruins, rise glittering in the midst of palm-groves, like so many fairy islets; add to these a number of caverns and tombs scooped out in the rock, with sculptured imagery, and fragments of antique gods, sphinxes, lions, and symbols of every shape and aspect, and you have enough to account for the excitement usually experienced by travellers in the Nilotic valley. Another cause concurs powerfully in producing this effect. When you land at Alexandria, you appear to descend from the Mediterranean to the shore, which looks like the dry spot on a table, while the water is flowing round and ready to engulf it. But when you have traversed the limits of Lower Egypt, and approached the Thebaid, you feel a sense of elevation, the air is keener, purer, and brighter. Then at the cataracts of Essouan, you enter the gates of inner Africa, and mount through the Nubian valley, till at Wadi Halfa, you find yourself on an elevated table-land, scorched by the burning sun, but enveloped by an elastic and luminous atmosphere, which imparts a brisk motion to your animal spirits. This increases as you go on, till the confluence of the blue-and-white streams, where, as you turn to the right, and follow the latter towards its unknown source, you find yourself encircled by phenomena of an entirely novel character.

Ever since Mohamed Ali has been Pasha of Egypt, he has been incited by European adventurers to explore the deserts bordering on the Nile, in search of mines of emeralds or gold. Ancient history speaks of such fountains of wealth lying amid the burning sands on the shores of the Red Sea; and reports have been actively circulated in our own day of the existence of coal-fields in the same waste, and of various kinds of mineral treasures higher up the country, on the shores of the White Nile. Besides, he has occasionally been accessible to that sort of vanity which is gratified by fitting up a scientific expedition. He has always loved to be talked of in Europe; and when all the effort required of him was to say, Take so many ships and go,—it is not surprising that he should sometimes be equal to it.

In 1840, Mohamed Ali, under the influence of very mixed motives, sent an expedition up the Bah'rel-abiad, in which there were several Frenchmen, an Italian or two, and one German. With the accounts published by the French, we have just now nothing to do. They hastened to lay their observations before the public in a superficial and imperfect manner, and the result has consequently been very transitory. The German took time to study

and mature his journal ; and though it be slight in itself, full of boasting and prejudice, of angry diatribes against his companions, and of innumerable other proofs of narrowness and littleness of mind, it reads pleasantly upon the whole, and leaves an impression rather favourable than otherwise towards the writer. He had gone into Egypt with a brother, who, being a medical man, took service under Mohamed Ali, and became one of his physicians. The duties of this post would not permit him to accompany his brother up the White river, and the constant yearning of fraternal affection in the journal, runs, as it were, through it like a thread of gold, and renders it in some measure beautiful.

In other respects, also, the book is amusing, and not without instruction, for although little was seen of the country, save what could be viewed from the mast-head, or in limited and extremely unfrequent descents, in order to visit villages standing near the river, for the purpose of purchasing provisions or curiosities, yet we obtain through it glimpses of new tribes of men and many remarkable regions. Herodotus, and all subsequent historians, who have touched upon the subject, speak of the land of Egypt as the gift of the Nile. But by what means this Potamian Osiris created the sacred valley, is what no ancient record can inform us, since Egypt existed before the birth of letters, and flourished and became great and powerful ere men had conceived the idea of holding converse with posterity. They lived for themselves and were content. Happiness is often incommunicative, which the Egyptians sought to express by the creation of the sphinx, mingling a beauty with the lion's strength, and placing the whole figure recumbent in luxurious repose and serenity, looking down everlastingly with placid smile upon the flowing waters, the whirling sand-gusts, and the infinitely beautiful vegetation, springing up and fading around it.

On the banks of the White stream, we behold the physical history of Egypt renewed and realized before our eyes. There the Nile is now engaged in making a new country ; you see the stream stagnating into a lake ; the lake encumbered with giant rushes and reeds changing into a floating marsh ; the marsh, by the incessant accumulation of muddy particles, and the rapid growth and decay of aquatic plants, acquiring greater consistency, and hardening into a bog ; and the bog, by analogous process, passing into the category of dry land. Four or five thousand years hence, posterity may find temples and pyramids, and catacombs and mummies, where nothing is at present to be seen but the huts of the Shilluks and the Keks. At present all there is fleeting and transitory. The naked natives scarcely covet clothing, which they view rather as an encumbrance than any-

thing else. A few ornaments, such as glass beads, bright metal rings, and other trifles, is all that civilization can supply to augment their happiness.

‘To be, contents their natural desire ;
They ask no angel's wing, no seraph's fire !’

What they do ask is to be suffered to remain in peace, unvisited and unvexed by Turks, or by any other of those rough precursors of civilization, who reverse the practice followed by the pedants of antiquity, and spread gall and bitterness, not honey, over the rim of the cup of knowledge.

On the point of land lying between the White and the Blue Nile, at their confluence, stands, as our readers are aware, the city of Kartum. From this place the exploring expedition, whose movements the German, Werné, has undertaken to record, set out on the 23rd of November, 1840. It is rarely that travellers are gifted with comic power, otherwise we can scarcely imagine more laughable scenes than they might sometimes amuse us with. Werné has no humour in him. He is sarcastic and dry, but not witty, yet, by merely giving a plain statement of facts, he occasionally provokes our risibility, so strange, so fantastical, so utterly out of the common order, were the Turkish officers by whom he was surrounded. We suspect, also, there was much to be amused with in the French adventurers, who, knowing little or nothing, contrived to palm themselves off, upon Mohamed Ali and his Turks, as *savans* of the first order. Even the Sicilian poisoner, as Werné denominates him, was, in all likelihood, not without his merits, though the envious character of his literary companions has led to the systematic suppression of them. If we inquire into the strength of the expedition, we find that it consisted of four Caireen dahabies (vessels with two masts and cabins, about one hundred feet long, and from twelve to fifteen broad), each with two cannon ; then two kaiass (ships of burden with one mast), and a sàndal (skiff for communication). The crews were composed of two hundred and fifty soldiers (Negroes, Egyptians, and Syrians), and one hundred and twenty sailors and marines from Alexandria, Nubia, and the land of Sudàn. Suliman Kashef, although without rank in the army, commanded the troops by the absolute will of the basha, as he had done before in the Chasua at Taka. Selim Capitan, from Crete, had the direction of the ships and property of the whole expedition ; the second captain was Feizulla Effendi, from Constantinople. The other officers were two Kurds, a Russian, an Albanian, and a Persian ; the Europeans were Arnaud and Sabatier as engineers, Thibaut as collector, and Werné as an independent passenger at his own expense. The ships were

furnished with ten months' provisions, and six months' pay was advanced to preserve, in some measure, from perishing of hunger, the families of the soldiers left behind, which, from the low price of female slaves, were numerous. The officers and the other persons holding appointments, received the *taïm* belonging to them in money (the different nations according to their grade), owing to the want of rice, wheat, lupins, lentils, onions, butter and oil, meat and bread, so that they might make what purchases they pleased, or stow it in their *kammer* (money pouch), according to the manner of oriental misers, and let the neighbouring stomach feed on common soldier's fare, and console itself with the prospect of good days to come. An indemnification was given in tobacco and onions, even to the common people, for the articles of the *taïm*, deficient in the victualling magazine, which could not well be realized until they arrived at Belled Sudàn.

In such company it was that our German traveller ascended the White Nile. What Turks are, most persons who have travelled on the southern shore of the Mediterranean know. Their cruelty is only to be equalled by their faithlessness and voluptuousness. Without humanity, without truth, relying only on brute force for ascendancy, not their own but that which their government exerts for them, they everywhere seek to domineer over the natives, to offer violence to their women, to carry away their children captive, and either to establish servitude over their country, or reduce their villages and towns into so many heaps of ashes. Yet, in the present expedition, it was the policy of the chiefs and leaders to keep on good terms with the natives, if possible, but their natural ferocity more than once broke out, and many a simple and confiding black soon lay festering in his narrow house in proof that the Turks had visited the land.

Some years ago the report prevailed in Europe that Mohamed Ali had set his face against the slave-trade, and more especially discountenanced those diabolical hunts by which the captives are collected. Experience has since proved that he has adopted no such humane policy; the hunts go on as before, murder is perpetrated, slaves are collected in thousands, and sent down in a perpetual stream, to make up for the waste of human life in the Egyptian valleys. As an illustration of the manner in which the system of domestic servitude operates, we may quote the following:—

'My servants had given some durra to the female slave of our first-lieutenant, Abd-Elliab, to prepare *merissa* from, of which drink the rest of the crew partook. The Paradise-Stormer—formerly, according to his own confession, a staunch toper—had no sooner learned that his slave had set to make this liquor, than he ordered this unfortunate

creature, who was kneeling just before the murhaka, and grinding the corn, so that the perspiration was pouring off in streams from the bared upper part of her body, to remain quiet where she was. At the very same moment he drew forth the Kúrbash from under his angereb, and, swinging it backwards and forwards, brought it down with fearful violence upon her back. As he did not attend to my call from the cabin, but struck so furiously that her skin broke and blood poured down in streams, I jumped out and pulled him by his angereb, so that his legs flew in the air. However he sprang up again immediately, bounded to the side of the ship, and shouted with a menacing countenance, "Effendi," instead of calling me, "Kawagi," which is the usual title for a Frank and a merchant. I had scarcely, however, returned to my cabin ere he seized his slave again, to throw her overboard. I immediately caught up my double-barrel, stood in the doorway, and called out, "Ara oedrup" (I'll fire), whereupon he let her go, and said, with a pallid countenance, that she was his property, and he could do as he liked with her. He at last suppressed his anger, when I explained to him that his own head, as well as all his harem, belonged to the basha.—Vol. i. p. 61.

We have already observed that to enjoy completely the pleasure of travelling, we must move through countries whose inhabitants have, once at least, made a figure in history. There is likewise, no doubt, a peculiar satisfaction in traversing unexplored regions, in conversing with new tribes of men, in examining the first efforts, as it were, of simple savages, to emerge from the lowest stage of ignorance. In civilized men the vices of society too often counterbalance the advantages they have enjoyed. They have plucked the tree of knowledge, but have grown no wiser or better by the act. Yet when brought into contact with savages, it is strange to witness the swelling pride and disdainful pity with which travellers from more fortunate lands, look down upon the rude children of nature. Volney's theory—that civilization has travelled down, not up the Nile—is altogether false, if carried beyond the limits of Egypt. How it commenced, we shall never, in all likelihood, discover; but it would appear to have sprung into existence at Thebes, and from thence to have radiated north and south, illuminating Memphis, and spreading more faintly towards Meroé. On the shores of the White stream we may be confident that civilization never took root, and that, from the beginning of the world, the races found there have been in much the same condition as at present. What this is may be partly conjectured from the following passage:—

'The inoffensive livid-coloured negroes accompanied the Tershoman on board the vessel where we were; they were five in number, two old men and three young ones. They made gestures in their perplexedness, bending in the attitude of apes. I remarked on the two old men

short grey hairs in the ashes on their heads, but there was not a single hair to be discovered on the bodies of the young men. They were naked, and had leathern and iron rings on their wrists, as well as adorned round their necks with rings made of skin. With uplifted hands they greeted us humbly, and screeched with a fearful voice,—“Jebing congregò,” which one sang, and then,—“Jebing congrego-rarememn,” was repeated in chorus, and so often, that I was nearly stunned with the noise. The leader of the choir was the son of Abir, and this word seems here to denote “elder of a family,” or Sheikh. He was called Tsholi-Dun, of the nations of the Keks. His son, Gilowai, was exceedingly delighted when he heard us pronounce his name, and screamed it as if he were mad, in our ears. The others were called Rialthoi, Pangail, and Talthoi. Red calico shirts were put on the father and son, but owing to their uncommon height they did not entirely cover their nakedness. This naturally vexed them but little, and perhaps if it had been otherwise it would have incommoded them. They viewed the beautiful flowers on these shirts, pointed with their fingers at them, and were very much pleased. White shirts were put over the heads of the others, and this was no little labour, although they were simply made according to the Turkish cut, for these men moved their arms here and there, and could not reconcile themselves to such splendour, which perhaps was afterwards consumed in fire and smoke on the nearest ashes. But when the glass beads were produced, then came the joy, the singing and shrieking without end; they uttered the resounding words with which they praised us with as much force as if there had been the most horrible strife. Looking-glasses at last were given to them, and they could not at first distinguish their faces, owing to the shadow. But when they found how to hold them at the proper distance, they were always looking behind them to see where their black brother might be. Yet the possession of these shining toys was dearer to them than the use of them, or the pleasure of looking at themselves for an hour long in the glass, as the Turks do. They must take a similar delight, only in a greater degree, in looking in the water, and therefore their astonishment was not so great. They even asked what they were used for, whereupon Suliman Kashef took a glass in his hand, and smoothed his beautiful beard by it. They understood, and laughed.

‘He is a good fellow, and is obliged now to do at Rome as the Romans do. He could not pronounce C in the alphabet, but always said T, and swelled the tone at every repetition without being able to come nearer to the pronunciation. He sang, screamed, and danced, just as one wished. Meat dried in the sun was given him, but he soon said, laughing, ‘Arradah!’ because it agreed with his teeth as little as the dry biscuit did. A pipe was brought him to smoke, but the crew had filled it at the bottom with powder, which exploded. On account of this he would not smoke any more, and was afraid even of a lantern when one was brought close to him. Soon afterwards he took the ashes from a small pipe and put them in his mouth, with the burnt tobacco. Hereupon I gave him some tobacco in his hand, which he kneaded together into a quid, and took in his mouth. A roasted leg of mutton was afterwards handed to him, and the cat immediately approached. He fairly divided it with her, and took great pleasure in

this animal, because it would climb up the ropes. Then he was a long time enticing two young goats by whistling, and calling, "Suth, suth, suth,"—Nature's sounds even used by us,—and played with them as if they were his children. One of his principal songs began with "Abandego," and we managed to imitate the chorus, "War Win Abandego."

'Suliman Kashaf had played some coarse Turkish jokes on him; he was offended for a moment, but he soon slid on his knees to him in order that the latter might spit on the back and palms of his hands. He played the buffoon because he had once been mad. Some time since they hung beads around him, and put on him a shirt reaching to the stomach; and he had so raved about with joy, that he became at last sleepy, went into the cabin, and lay down upon Selim Capitan's bed; but he was soon hunted out of that, and they made a bed for him under a cannon, to keep him safe from the further bantering of the crew.'—*Ib.* p. 297.

It would be difficult everywhere to infer the character of a people, or tribe, from that of a single specimen taken from among them. We cannot, therefore, take Werné's account of Dushoïl as any indication of what the Keks generally are, but he does not regard the nation as savages, unless the term be employed simply to denote the absence of European civilization. All these nations would appear to have more aptitude for improvement than we are in general willing to award to them. They are neither fierce nor vindictive, and display nothing of that sullen gloom which imparts a repulsive air to so many natives, both of Asia and Africa. We perfectly agree with Werné that many well-looking Europeans, clad from head to foot, are less civilized than Dushoïl.

'Selim Capitan has a native on board who is of the race of the Keks, and whose home was at Kahak, near the village of Dim. His name is Dushoïl; he is a jolly old dog, with a half blind eye. He journeyed with the expedition last year, and seems to have a natural talent for languages, for he managed to make himself pretty generally understood by our blacks. I am able, therefore, to learn something from him. His countrymen do not appear to be idol-worshippers, and recognise a great God, who dwells much higher, or is like the mast of the ship, which he always pointed at to express his grandeur.

'The Keks, as well as the Bundurials, procure the iron for their spears and arrows from the region of Arol, which lies towards the west, but cannot be seen here, owing to the trees. Another tribe dwells there. From this place they fetch the copper for the few ear-rings they wear, and upon which they do not seem to lay any particular value.'—*Ib.* p. 295.

It is rarely that Europeans come in contact with uncivilized people in any part of the world without staining their intercourse with bloodshed. We cannot, therefore, be greatly surprised that the Turks should follow the same course, especially when there

is little immediate danger to be apprehended. Forward into the future these people cannot look. Scarcely do they understand what they see, so that what in them is sometimes mistaken for courage, is simply the stupidity which makes men blind to consequences. What could be more wicked, and at the same time more rash, than the crime described in the following passage, which, had the natives possessed that ferocity discoverable in many African tribes, would unquestionably have led to the annihilation of the whole party:—

‘An occurrence has just happened which might be the death of us all if anything were to be feared from the revenge of these evidently good-natured people. We were at the right side of the river, when the little sandal was towed near us. Natives had stationed themselves here in large and small groups; they greeted us, held up their hands, pointed to their necks for beads, and sang, danced, and jumped. There was no end of laughing in our vessel; I was attentive to what was going on, and saw that the natives had seized the rope of the sandal, and would not let it be towed further, for they wanted beads. Probably the crew of the sandal had taken weapons or ornaments from them without giving anything in return, as this often happened. We steered close to the left shore to assist our men, when eight bold armed figures advanced before us, and gave us to understand, by pantomimic signs, that we had presented beads to their neighbours below, but would not give them anything. They offered the rings on their arms, and their weapons, and signified to us that they would not allow us to tow any further unless we gave them something. They said all this, however, with a laughing countenance, jumped about, and laughed anew. It was plain they were only in jest; but our blood-thirsty fellows, seeing no danger in this small number of men, and never thinking of the probable consequences, just like the Turks, considered this an excellent opportunity to display their courage. They seized their weapons. I was unwell, but was yet standing on deck, and kept order as well as my weak voice would allow me. I went from one to the other, and enjoined them not to fire until arrows were first shot at them. The black soldiers, who were mostly recruits, I admonished especially not to be *filles de joie* (the usual expression applied here to those who exhibit fear in discharging their guns), but men, to grasp the gun firmly and to take good aim. All blacks are generally much afraid of the report of guns, and do exactly as the Greeks did at the commencement of their war for freedom, they lay the butt-end at the thigh, and fire at random. On the White river, also, the report of these unknown weapons was more feared than the real danger itself. They listened to me; but then came the vessel of Captain Mohammed Aga, a foolhardy Arnaut, who is always trying to distinguish himself in some way or another. He shouted to the sandal to cast away the rope, although the men were still on land. This was about to be done, when the tallest negro, who had twisted the rope round a little tree, pointed his bow at the sailor, who was about to cut it through with his knife. He laughed at the same time, and it was clear he was not in earnest, for

he had wrestled in a friendly manner with the other sailors, when they tried to get the rope from him, without making use of his weapons. Yet the Arnaut commanded them to fire, while he had already aimed at the incautious native, being the first to discharge his piece. In a moment, all three vessels fired away as though they were beset by the devil. I was only able to pull back a couple of fellows whose guns had flashed in the pan. Eleven or twelve victims followed the first, who was knocked over by the captain's shot. Those who went away wounded were not counted. An old woman was shot down by an Egyptian standing near me, and yet he boasted of this heroic deed, as did all the others of theirs. There might have been from twenty-five to thirty natives collected together at that place, scarcely thirty paces from us, and the high standing straw might have concealed several more.

'We sailed away, with the wind favouring our criminal action, for our men had again come on board before the firing commenced. The Dahabies ahead must have heard our shots; they did not, however, furl *one* sail to lend us assistance, which might have been eventually necessary. Before we caught up these vessels, we saw a woman on the shore, looking about among the dead men, and then running to the city, at some distance from the shore. The natives were hastening toward it, but did not trust themselves near us. Yet they knew not the melancholy truth that our shots would hit at a distance; hitherto they feared only the thunder and lightning of them, as we had seen several times. We halted a moment; the unhappy creatures, or relatives of the slain, came down to the borders of the shore, laid their hands flat together, raised them above their heads, slid upon their hands nearer to us, and sprang again high into the air, with their compressed hands stretched aloft, as if to invoke the pity of Heaven, and to implore mercy of us. A slim young man was so conspicuous by his passionate grief that it cut to my heart, and our barbarians laughed with all their might. This unbounded attachment to one another, and the circumstance that the woman, in spite of the dangers close at hand, sought for the man of her heart among those who had perished, affected me exceedingly, because such moral intrinsic worth, flowing from pure natural hearts, is unfortunately more acquired than innate in civilized nations. We had only advanced a little way, when thirty unarmed natives, who must at all events have been informed of the tragical incident that had just occurred, sat down on the sand directly close to the river, without suspicion, or designing any harm to us, as if nothing had taken place, and really I had enough to do to prevent their being shot at.'—Vol. ii. p. 9.

After this, it is noway surprising that the expedition failed. A bar of rocks across the river supplied the ostensible reason for their return, but it can scarcely be doubted that had they remained on friendly terms with the natives, the rocky barrier might easily have been surmounted. It was fear, and the consciousness of guilt, that built up a bar across the Nile, and left it for others to discover its hidden sources, far off beneath or beyond the equator.

It will be seen from the passages we have laid before the reader, that the ' Expedition up the White Nile ' is an interesting book, and that much curious information may be extracted from it respecting the river and the surrounding countries. Of the natives much less was seen than might have been expected, and it was perhaps fortunate for them that their villages in many instances were separated from the Nile by lakes or marshes. By comparing, however, the data furnished by this work with the information to be obtained from Leo Africanus, we may form some idea of the tribes inhabiting the Upper Valley of the Nile, whose very existence, until recently, was by many thought to be fabulous. We recommend Werné's book as at once amusing and instructive, though it might easily have been better written and better translated.

ART. VI.—1. *A Catalogue of the Pictures and Studies of William Etty, R.A., selected for Exhibition at the Society of Arts, Adelphi, London, in aid of the Formation of a National Gallery of British Art.* 1849.

2. *Autobiography of William Etty, R.A. In Letters addressed to a Relative.* Pp. 13, and 37—40, of the *Art Journal*; January and February, 1849.

THE Society of Arts is performing an eminent service to the arts of this country. The collective exhibitions of individual artists, of which that of the present season has formed the second, are calculated to throw light and honour on the English school, such as could not be given by any other means; unless it were a National Gallery of the truest, and most legitimate description. One of the ends the Society proposes to itself in these exhibitions, —assisted by independent subscriptions,—is the doing somewhat towards forwarding that achievement, of which the groundwork has been laid through the rare munificence and high feeling of Mr. Vernon. Whatever be the fate of the primary design of these exhibitions, there can be but one opinion as to their value and significance in the secondary bearing. Both among ourselves, and among foreigners, they will diffuse a better apprehension of the individual character and merits of those of our artists who occupy the first place. And it were to be wished they might be continued so long as a master of the first or second rank living, or of the past, remains unexhibited. Apart from this considera-

tion, an exhibition can scarcely be conceived of greater interest or value, than such as these. Collections both public and private are but too generally destitute of a presiding aim or distinctive character. But from these, a definitive general character and design are inseparable, and of the rarest, most acceptable kind to all lovers or students of art. We have here, the whole range of an artist's labour unfolded before us, under one point of view; like the works of a given author within the compass of one or more volumes. And for a brief space, one of the most eminent disadvantages in the station and influence of the artist, as opposed to the writer, is removed; though were it enduring, at the too serious expense of all other localities save that of the particular collection. We are for once, enabled to trace the artist throughout his course; are presented with facilities for comprehending his genius, and its general characteristics in all its bearings; in its peculiar and accidental, as well as broad and essential tendencies; in its strength, and its shortcomings; in its original manifestation, and its final attainment. We are not aware that the works of any ancient master have been thus comprehensively brought together. Three English masters have previously been thus exhibited:—Reynolds, Hogarth, and Wilkie. In 1848, a comprehensive selection (as to important works almost complete) from the works of Mulready formed the first of the present series, and the interest and value possessed by it were scarcely to be overrated.

Few painters, ancient or modern, would form a more imposing or splendid manifestation, in their collective works, than William Etty. A larger sum of independent thought, of subtilty of feeling, might be given in the working of some; a more varied and dramatic range, a fuller realization of essential creative power, or more exalted manner of feeling, or deeper, more original guiding purposes, in that of a few; fuller manifestation of depth and truth of expression, and of individual character, of human *realities*, in short—this including all *most* essential in the art—in that of a still selecter few, a small and chosen band; comprising in their various and seemingly opposed aspects, a Raphael, a Hogarth, a Leslie. More consistently perfect and accurate drawing might be found in that of some; more careful and elaborate execution, greater perfection of mere mechanical attainment, in that of many. But none—Titian, with the other great Venetians, and Rubens, alone, perhaps, excepted,—none could make an artistically grander, or more generally powerful appearance, than Etty; none affect the mind more instantly and vividly. It is not in colour alone that he stands in the first rank, taking into consideration all time and all schools, it is not in this pre-eminent attainment of his alone, he makes so direct and urgent appeal to us;

but also in his entire manner, in the style of his addressing us, in the essential spirit of the man, and in the general influence of power,—artistic power, about his works. It was rightly, we think, said, by a contemporaneous critic, that for the most part, there is scarcely to be encountered the slightest performance of Etty's hand, on which there is not plainly, ineffaceably stamped the broad character *Great*, in deed, or manner.

The first entrance on the great room of the Society, as it has been filled during the last month or so, was something remarkable—the first rich, striking appearance, so gorgeous and various; the walls laden with beauty and incident, and effect, rife not only with the highest grandeur of colour, but with general artistic power and appeal. Passing before these works, in their array of magnificence, their large and stirring speech, their grand and noble colour, encountering often such deep and perfect harmonies, often such pure and expressive poems; it was to the eye and mind, as to the ear, some moving to that accord of 'flutes and soft recorders' of Milton, interspersed with sharp occasional trumpet-breathings.

The selection compassed by the Society of Arts is comprehensive and satisfactory. All the more important of the painter's works were here to be found, with some exceptions. The exquisite ideal airy dream, 'Youth at the Prow, and Pleasure at the Helm,' with the other fine examples in the Vernon collection, all chosen with great taste, of exceeding perfection of execution, including two of the painter's finest instances of the nude, as also the beautiful Venetian conversation-pieces, are necessarily absent. Among the others it would have been especially desirable to have gained for the exhibition, are the 'Coral Finders,' a leading work, in the same class and rank with the 'Youth at the Prow,' and one of the first two which brought the painter into notice, the Academy diploma picture, two out of the three on the subject of the 'Prodigal,' the 'Destruction of the Temple of Vice,' the 'Venus and the Graces,' the earlier 'Three Graces,' the 'Mars and Venus' piece; and of those more recent, the beautiful scene from 'Comus,' of which the fresco was *destroyed*, 'Circe and the Syrens,' 'Zephyr and Aurora.' Of works dating within the last ten years, the amount collected has been, as to *number* at least, greater in proportion by far, than of those of the preceding twenty years. Of this, the reason is obvious, in the much larger quantity painted, within the later period, when a less careful and finished style of execution had been adopted; as also in the greater difficulties inevitably attending the identifying and assembling the studies and smaller productions of the more distant years. Of the painter's earliest achievement, nothing has been given; nothing antecedent to that

epoch of mature excellence, which, almost without gradation, followed his first unsuccessful strivings,—and so decisively, that those works are in themselves as perfect as any painted by him. A few more specimens of this early blossoming time, as also a few of that immediately preceding time,—of the fluctuation between immaturity and maturity, were to have been much wished for; and would have been invested with particular interest and instruction.

The course of Etty has been one of pre-eminent consistency and beauty. It has been that of one enthusiastically devoted, heart and mind, to his calling; ever pursuing, with singleness of purpose, and a rare intensity of self-devotion, one system of action. There is something very striking and noble in this long-continued, earnest, intense absorption in his art, and in his own manner of artistic speech. One aim has been ever before him: the attainment of individual artistic excellence, the fresh development of independent artistic beauty and significance. Through one medium has this end, with peculiar prominence, been sought for; through the painting of the nude, in all its natural nobility and grace, and suggestiveness, the ‘painting,’ adopting his own words, ‘the glorious works of God in preference to draperies, the works of man.’ On this matter, unfortunately, too much misconception and unhealthiness of feeling prevail, generally. For our own part, we confess we are sorry for those who find aught objectionable in the nude forms of a painter like Etty. For this embarrassment evidences either deficiency of culture, or sickness of feeling. If exception be taken, there is cause for humiliation, it seems to us, not to the painter, but to the party excepting. Of Etty’s individual artistic aims and feeling, there can be but one opinion among those conversant with art generally, or with the character of the particular painter. *He*, at least, was engrossed within his own world, pursued his own Ideal, and has ‘thought no ill.’ And in the same way will those of well-cultured taste, and of simple and upright feeling, receive his working. The sight of the present collection of the painter’s works is calculated to do much towards suggesting clearer and truer views, both as to the subject taken generally, and the specific instance of Etty, in his pursuit of Nature. We refer our readers to Mr. Etty’s noble and manly vindication of himself, in the very interesting autobiography, published in the ‘Art Journal.’ The general question of the treatment of the nude in poetic and imaginative art, is one of exceeding nicety, and one, for the right elucidation of which much independent inquiry would be needed. We have alluded to it here, even thus slightly, because, in regard to the present painter, so much misconception and injustice has been common.

As to Etty's particular manner of rendering the feminine form, it often *tends*, assuredly, rather to voluptuousness than to severity of feeling—the noble severity of some among the elder Italians. This has its origin, plainly, in no ill-seeking on the part of the painter, but in the natural glowing and vivid character of his imagination, and in part, in his power of realizing nature. With Mr. Ruskin, we think all in him, as in Titian, 'redeemed by glory of hue;' and by the intrinsic glory and beauty, moreover, of the work; by greatness of manner in the painting generally; and by the constant plain manifestation of one paramount, fervent, eloquent purpose in the painter: the realization and artistic interpretation of nature, of the beauty, and nobility, and significance of great nature, looked at with the 'seeing eye,' worshipped by the reverent, simple heart. An occasional tendency, again, to indulgence in types of form, not æsthetically the most perfect, must be confessed. But this attribute is one proper to his later, not to his earlier works. And the character of his feminine delineations, both as this and the presiding manner of feeling alluded to are concerned, is by no means so uniform, as some fancy. There is, in fact, within the general range of his realizations of the human form, very great and marked diversity of character; varying from the sensual to the refined, the intellectual and elevated: with many intervening degrees and shades of difference. Compare any one of the 'Three Syrens' in the 'Ulysses,' with another, or with the Woman in the 'Intercession for the Vanquished,' with the female figure in the 'Storm,' with the Joan of Arc in the third compartment of that piece; and with any of these, or among one another, the various figures in the 'Proserpine,' and with these, again, the 'Delilah,' the 'Andromeda,' or, again, any one year's studies with another's.

Of purely artistic excellences, the one the cultivation of which, by reason of the very nature and condition of his original genius, spontaneously formed a pre-eminent feature in his practice, has been *colour*. And here, almost without effort, comparatively speaking, he early attained to the highest and rarest power and beauty; and has all along, under varying phases and manner of manifestation, but with little varying degree of attainment, kept his position. And he must rank, hereafter, at all events, among the greatest true Colourists, in all,—but a select few,—the world has yet seen; often rivalling Rubens and the great Venetians on their own ground; and having, moreover, developed power peculiar to himself, a certain unparalleled open day-light brilliancy and transparency of natural hue. The *variety* of his colour, again, is very eminent and rare; in its fluctuating adaptation to the sentiment of the individual work, and to the character of the natural effect. Between such colour as that of any

of the 'Judiths,' and that of the 'Fleur de Lis,' there is little in common, beyond their exceeding glory and beauty. Yet it would be difficult to say, which is in its separate kind the more perfect. And so of others; the most opposed characters of splendour, or harmony, of colour, being continually developed. And all, too, is attained with the entire absence of glare: a fact placed beyond question by the first glance on entering the exhibition of the painter's works; and which the examination of every picture will support.

In design, the attainment of truth and mastery has necessarily formed one leading aim of Etty's artistic life. Nor have his endeavours been unsatisfied. A thorough knowledge of the human form, of its natural capabilities and characteristics, in whatever action or aspect, is always manifested; even where the draughtsmanship of details may be faulty enough. And, considering his continuous and laborious study in this direction, it would have been strange, had it not been thus. A general, large, informing *knowledge*, not *accuracy*, is the prevailing characteristic of his design. There is always given something of the vitality of nature, the essential power and spontaneousness of nature. And this is a far greater, more enduring quality, than mere precision of drawing. It is something that will stand the wear of ages, and be yet suggestive and acceptable. There are painters among us who have attained to far higher *correctness*, than their great forerunner in this direction. Labour and early Academy training will accomplish this much. But, alas! there is that in the comparatively imperfect design of the one, which makes up a bridge of separation between them, not to be passed. There is a truth, moreover, affecting this point, recently propounded by a leading writer on art, which is very generally overlooked: that drawing and colour *cannot*, in fact, be given in really equal proportions of perfection in art; because not actually so occurring in nature herself. Where the one attribute prevails, the other is subordinate, and (so to speak) comparatively imperfect. The 'bad drawing' of Etty, however, is in any aspect, and after all deductions, an unmeaning and cuckoo cry. Among the pictures of quite recent years, when physical infirmities have somewhat checked the great artist's right executive acquittance of himself, are to be found sketches and imperfect suggestions of drawing, and a general roughness, often 'smudginess' of manner. But, even of this period, very noble drawing has now and then been compassed: as in the beautiful bosom and extremities of the 'Joan of Arc at the Stake,' in the exquisite 'Grape Gatherer,' in the 'Sea Bather,' and other similar renderings and studies.

In Etty—as in most other painters possessing *any* style of

their own—may be traced, subsequent to his first great success, three successive styles, or ‘manners’ of painting; or rather, perhaps, two opposed manners, at the two opposed periods of his practice; with one intervening, of fluctuation. At the first, great care and finish of execution were exercised; in the end, there is great absence of this. In the first period there was greater general perfection; in the latter, a more direct and simple impress of broad, general power, as a prevailing characteristic. Of the first, such gems as ‘Cupid and Psyche descending,’ ‘Cupid sheltering his Darling,’ both belonging to its commencement; and then, on a broader scale, the three Judith pictures may stand as representatives; of the later, the Proserpine in the commencement, and afterwards, the ‘Comus’ and ‘Joan of Arc:’—the *second* ‘Choice of Paris,’ and *second* ‘Graces,’ are quite unworthy as to conception, execution, manner, of occupying such a position, though of course possessing value, as bearing that impress of power of which no production of Etty’s hands can be destitute. The ‘Godfrey de Bouillon,’ and ‘Ulysses,’ very well mark the intermediate epoch. It was undoubtedly towards the middle and close of the first period—the concluding portion of a period of some ten or eleven years, dating from the ‘Coral Finders,’ in 1820, that our artist put forth fullest strength. The mass of great works then produced will be found by whoever examines the history of his productions, to be something very remarkable. The ‘Judiths,’ the ‘Mercy interceding for the Vanquished,’ the ‘Benaiah,’ the ‘Hero and Leanders,’ the ‘Bevy of Fair Women,’ from ‘Paradise Lost,’ the ‘Storm,’ the ‘Youth at the Prow,’ and others, all belong to this period. Great things, however, have been done since; some among his greatest. But the time we have indicated seems to have been one of peculiar wealth, a harvest full and overflowing, such as generally will be found to characterise one particular happy epoch of the life of a man of genius. The painter was then, too, in his mid-age, generally the maturest, most fruitful time with the strong man. Throughout a period, terminating perhaps some eight years since, with the noble picture of the ‘Prodigal’s Return,’ an imaginative spirit of working may be almost taken to be the rule in his works. Since that time, it has not indeed been wanting, but rather intermittent than normal; the mere realization of beauty, or glory of effect, or power of manner, being the more prevailing characteristic.

Few that have painted in the direction pursued by Etty, are less open to the charge of self-repetition. Amid the general range of his works, a leading characteristic is their variety of manifestation—an attribute already instanced as very prominent in his realizations of colour: variety of character, of story, of

effect, of nature. There is no monotony ever felt in any of his works; not in the studies themselves, or in the general repetitions of certain, stock classic subjects favourable to his reliance on the nude, or to the turning to account his studies. In these repetitions, there is often great diversity of imagination, always diversity of nature. And in the studies—nature-pieces as they may be termed—it is always a new *aspect* of nature in each successive piece, which is given. The portrayal of natural effect and natural beauty, in all their subtle shifting phases, forms the object and significance of this class of his performances. And a very noble significance this! the highest belonging to any art. We have already in reference to the question of Etty's drawing, alluded to that vitality, which so nobly informs it. The same greatest of attributes is pre-eminently noticeable in the general character of his works: that decisive, all-prevailing influence which separates the works of high genius from those of the mediocre; the broad, unmistakeable impress of an independent and powerful existence.

That Etty is a *poet*, is, we should suppose, known to most at all familiar with his works, beyond the contributions to the Academy of the last few years. That he is a very great one, may be apprehended after a few hours passed in the exhibition of the Society. Pure poems he has painted. The 'Hero and Leanders,'—the Parting, and the Death, are both poems, worthy of the oft-told strain of 'Hellespont, guilty of true love's blood.' In both pictures, the landscape-influences, that of the moonlight on the rippled shore of the one, of the dreary dawn of the other, convey a full burthen of poetic feeling. And in the Death, the attitude and action of Hero stretched prone before the body of her 'dead love,' is something altogether ineffable in its full, eloquent, yet simple influence on our mind. Then, what a noble drama is the 'Proserpine,' in its imaginatively-told, full story, its bold, quick action: the strange chariot so sudden of appearance, that while some part of Proserpine's companions flee, and some in wondering fright stay gazing, one yet stoops, flowers in hand, her head turned toward the swan by the river side, of which last, by the way,—in itself so effective an incident,—the unsatisfactory painting seems to us the only imperfection in this great work. We know few stories on canvass more suggestively and greatly told than this; none more directly, and dramatically. And how fine is each constituent of the drama: the 'gloomy Dis,' upbearing so grandly his sweet appalled armful; she herself,—so nobly drawn,—lying a slack, helpless weight in his arms; her companions, in their rarely expressive gestures and glances, and beautifully painted forms; and last, those real creations, the strange, unearthly, fiery, piebald steeds which draw

Hell's King. It is in truth, one of the noblest Poems, hitherto painted.

A similar poetic air and influence are possessed, in varying degrees, by many of the renderings of classic or familiar stock-subjects. Among these, is the important and beautiful work, the 'Choice of Paris,'—the first of 1826, in which the introduction of the Naiads in the shade, of the peeping Satyr, the delightful, brilliant, laughing Cupid, are all finely effective pieces of imaginative feeling; while the three chief figures are treated nobly, and adequately. Here, too, are to be ranked both the Sabrinas, more especially the first, and the Hylas; all so rife with a pervading imaginative spirit: these, too, like the 'Storm' and 'Robinson Crusoe,' possessing so deep and beautiful a harmony of *neutral* colour. These, in this respect, as forcibly witness to the great Colourist, as any among his most vivid and gorgeous realizations; it being only, in fact, such an one who can throw this harmony and feeling into that kind of colour,—within so limited an available range. Here, must rank the beautiful 'Cupid and Psyche Descending,' so perfect in conception and in artistic execution, in expression, character, and beauty of character. This, moreover, and others of that early period, as the 'Cupid sheltering his Darling,' the 'Venus and Cupid Descending,' the small 'Venus at the Bath,' are perfect examples of tone; having just passed through that period, after which a picture gains nothing, only loses; but during which it certainly improves in this particular.

All the Cupid and Psyche pieces—and Etty seems to have been not a little fond of the characters—are of beauty, and (fancifully so) deeply expressive. His Cupids are, every one of them, and in every instance almost equally so, peculiarly glorious achievements of glowing, gladsome imagination. He may, in fact, be said, alone, of all modern painters to have realized a true, living, imaginative character in the rendering. His power of rich, broad, daylight beauty of colour, moreover, is always pressed into the service, and always not a little effective. Here, again, must not be forgotten, the exquisite little *naïve* and graceful 'Cupid sheltering his Darling,' already mentioned, and the two later gems, 'Cupid in a Shell,' and 'Cupid scattering Roses.' All these we have instanced, are more or less impregnated with a poetic atmosphere and significance, elevating them into the class of works of original thought and purpose; are in fact very Poems.

The three Judith pictures—so rich, and every way honourable a crown to the Scottish Academy—the largest of all in size, maintain the superiority in intrinsic greatness. The epic sublimity of these scenes, in general feeling and manner, is difficult

of parallel; while for deep, rich, serious harmony of colour, they are also Triumphs, not to be surpassed, we conjecture, by aught in Europe. Over and above the great and noble manner of general painting, there hangs about them the true ineffable poetic *atmosphere*. There is something by no means to be expressed, in such matters: in the deep, full, stillness of the night, of the first and third compartments, in the heads of the soldiers bowed down with sleep; but to be *felt*, inducing in us an impression not readily forgotten. As for the maid of Judith, in both those scenes, for attitude, action, type of countenance, general expression,—of dread expectation, and hushed, intense attendance in the one, of yet deeper and mingled feelings—still exultation, rapt marvelling and admiration, in the other; there is not, we think, aught more grandly or deeply dramatic in Raphael himself, the great Dramatist, on canvass. The action of Judith, again, in both the principal and last scenes, is nobly dramatic; and in the former, where, looking to heaven in appeal, and for sustainment, wholly heroic and sublime. Next to these, the ‘Ulysses and the Syrens,’ stands a very noble epic: in its thoughtfully suggestive, and poetic, general conception; in the composition; in the eloquence of landscape of near rocks and approaching thunder-clouds, in the detailed treatment of that dread feature, the bleached bones and yet decaying persons of the victims of the place, strewn around,—one, with the last fascinated expression yet resting on his face; in the three grandly discriminated, nobly painted Syrens themselves; in the varied, strong dramatic action of the ship’s company,—some, withholding the be-charmed, infatuated Listener, some laying hands to the rigging, some to the helm, all, energy and action, to escape from the fearful shore. The two *combats*, ‘Benaiah,’ David’s chief captain, and ‘Mercy Interceding for the Vanquished,’ are equally great in their several kinds: for power, for what may be called the expression, the eloquence, of Action, and for general distinctive character; for grandeur of manner and drawing, and for nobility of colour. The right character of force (quite unexaggerated) in the combatants, in both pictures, and the form, and appropriateness of form, and sentiment, of the woman, in the ‘Mercy,’ with its tender beauty and noble grace, are of pre-eminent truth and effectiveness. The ‘Joan of Arc’ somewhat declines before such triumphs as these; in some degree representing the general variance of attainment from his earlier time, accompanying the painter’s latter years of practice. But still they are noble pictures, pictures that were utterly misreceived when first exhibited. To the beauty of drawing and of character in the heroine of the concluding scene, we have alluded. And the picture, taken altogether, is a fine and effective whole. The beautiful Gothic

houses behind, and the smoke-cloud from the newly-lit pyre, blown upward towards one of those deeply-blue, artistically conventional skies, Etty always throws in so finely, with the same greatness and effect as his similarly conventional, yet *essentially true* renderings of sea: all are conducive to the main feeling.

A class of Etty's pictures in which the Society's exhibition is somewhat deficient, is that of which the fine Composition ('Bevy of Fair Women') from 'Paradise Lost,' so full of sentiment and incident, and richly deep and harmonious in colour; and the 'Dance,' from the Description of Achilles's Shield, so poetic and rife with beauty, are almost the only representatives. The scene from 'Comus,' the 'Temple of Vice,' and some others, are wanted, fully to represent this class. Within this range, there is often given, by Etty, highest poetic beauty—the beauty of sensuous poetry, of the embodiment of a luxuriantly vivid, dreamy voluptuousness. His pictured 'orgies' and revels are, indeed, grand exertions of the bare luxury of fancy; of the quest after the development of merest beauty; and living, as many famed performances in this kind are not; graceful, and gorgeous.

The richly imaginative, full-fraught poem—the 'Cleopatra,' a drama rife with episodal lyrics; the equally imaginative 'Youth at the Prow,' still more *one*, and single in pervading feeling, in its noble day-light colour, so graphic and poetically true; the analogously-informed piece of poetry—the 'Coral Finders;' with such dreamy poetic reveries as the 'Phædria and Cymochles,' from Spenser, and others from the same poet, not included in the Society's exhibition;—the 'Britomart and Amoret,' on the contrary, which *is* included, while testifying to much power of painting in all regards, has lost much by undue finish, a very unusual thing with its painter, and betrays *no* informing atmosphere of poetry—form a class wherein Etty's imagination has manifested itself quite independently and originally. Subject, manner of feeling, of realization, all are poetic; all, individually poetic; much, individually original to the painter.

In subjects from religious story, Etty has not failed to give great things. We have touched on the 'Judith' pieces from the Apocrypha. 'Samson and Delilah,' a smaller piece, is one of the masterly, dramatically historic works. The 'Delilah' is in general feeling, and type of form, among the finest realizations of character ever painted by Etty. The action and incident, and remaining actors of the scene, are expressive and powerful, in a remarkably eloquent and suggestive degree. In such sketches, ostentatiously nicknamed after sacred subjects, as the small nude 'Christ Crowned with Thorns,' the colossal 'John the Baptist' of last year at the Academy, and some of the 'Magdalen'

studies, casual spectators have had some ground for conceiving of the painter, as one incapable of great and serious feeling. The small, finely painted, but comparatively unimaginative heads of Christ, again, are not calculated materially to modify this conception. But in such works as the 'Prodigal's Return,' we have noble testimony on the other side. This is truly, a serious and religious picture; in sentiment, and treatment. The abased, worn, sorrowing expression of the Prodigal, is a realization rare in any master, a realization worthy of Leslie himself; so profoundly conceived, so faithfully rendered. The remaining feeling and action of the picture, is seriously graceful, and dramatically in keeping. In the 'Infant Moses and his Mother,' and the 'Entombment,' we have fine suggestions of religious subjects: the stooping figure of the mother in the former, singularly expressive, and eloquent in indication of the sentiment of the piece; and the drooping Magdalen in the latter, of exceeding beauty in feeling. The Magdalen often occurs as the subject of our painter's studies or sketches; sometimes, as we have said, amounting to *nothing more* than studies; sometimes, of great beauty as pieces of artistic power and effect, such as the remarkable 'Reading Magdalen,' and a smaller piece, of great finish, in the Vernon Collection; sometimes, over and above this much, or in its stead, bearing the impress of sincerity and depth of feeling. Of such, there is an instance, in the drooping figure in the 'Entombment,' just mentioned; as also, in a separate study of the same in a similar attitude. And here, we must mention those nobly imaginative features, the Angels at the Sepulchre, in the 'Christ appearing to the Maries,' of the Vernon Collection; and the fine feeling of the last-named figures. The 'Ten Virgins,' one among the most important as to size, is one of the most unequal, as to intrinsic merit, of the religious pictures. Its faults are many and obvious. It is scarcely a whole, an imaginative, poetic whole. The stillness of feeling of the night-hour, however, is conveyed with simplicity and force; while the prominent architectural feature of the scene is treated with richness and effect, like those in the 'Joan of Arc's.' Among the 'Foolish Virgins' there is much expression in action and attitude; and the figure to the right of the picture, turning away weeping, her face already worn with tears and grief, must rank, for individual character and dramatic feeling, among the finest of Etty's creations. Here, must not be forgotten, as an effective work connected with sacred history, 'By the Waters of Babylon:' so imperfect in drawing, so rich and *light-giving* in colour, so forcible and characteristic in general feeling and influence.

The two, perhaps, of Etty's works, after those from the sub-

ject of 'The Prodigal,' the most religious in feeling, essentially, are not occupied with subjects professedly religious: the 'Godfrey de Bouillon arming for Battle,' and 'The Storm.' The 'Godfrey de Bouillon,' made up of but two figures—the principal, and a secondary one, his attendant—is one of the noblest of any among the great painter's works, for grandeur of painting and of effect, and the subtile feeling superadded to these qualities. The uplifted face of the religious hero, for serene yet intense character, is a masterpiece:—this deep, solemn feeling, proper to the individual character, something infused into the painter's model, which he found not there. 'The Storm,' is a work still more religious in feeling, while in seriousness of purpose far exceeding it. The presiding sentiment—trust in Providence—is exquisitely impressed on the whole attitude and expression of the female figure. The silent speech in the raised face of this figure is rightly sublime in itself, as in effect; while for severity of feeling and most simple rendering of the nude, the form is one of Etty's most noble and beautiful. Expressive, too, of a similar religious sentiment, and nobly expressive, is the 'Robinson Crusoe': the mere prostrate form of Robinson—like that of Hero in the Death-scene, of the Magdalen in 'The Entombment,' of the stooping mother in 'The Infant Moses,' of the kneeling Prodigal in the Return, and many other instances—is as fully charged with dramatic speech and feeling, and expressive character, as could be a human face itself. This direct, deep feeling and expression, often to be found in the figures of Etty, in their attitude and action, apart from the countenance, is something very rare and remarkable; evidencing his great mastery of the human form, and,—more clearly, perhaps, than anything beside, the original creative feeling of the painter. These two last-enumerated works—like the 'Cleopatra,' the 'Pleasure at the Prow,' the 'Coral-finders,' in their separate manner, form in themselves, a class of works, but too small in number, indeed, in which the subjects are as fresh and individual, as their treatment. The 'Robinson Crusoe' is, in one aspect, especially satisfactory, as an example of the manifestation of the painter's particular ability, and in part, of the particular capabilities which belong to the nude, subordinated to a modern, consistent subject, not necessitating resource to conventional—though artistically legitimate fictions, of absent or pseudo drapery.

To the specific nature, value and significance, and correlative beauty, of Etty's studies, such as 'The Sea-bather,' the three other 'Bathers,' and many others similar—'Naiads,' 'Water-nymphs,' 'Reposing' figures, 'Signals,' and others, in great number, we have already incidentally adverted.

Etty's efforts in landscape and portrait, exhibit the general power and mastery of a great painter. In the still life, introduced as adjuncts in his historical works, he has nobly developed the resources of his art. His few occasional pieces of abstract still life, are among the most wonderful things, for artistic effect, ever painted. For pure colour, they are among the most glorious of his performances. It is to be regretted there have not been more of these given in the Society's Exhibition. Only one example was to be found. Similar, in power and truth of natural effect, are the few sketches of landscape: of which the 'Scene on the Thames,' wherein boys bathing form an effective subordinate feature, is a fine instance. With these, must be classed the beautiful, comparatively earlier, and finished work, 'The Bridge of Sighs;' rendered partly historical, by the incident so dramatically suggested.—Among the portraits, the early one of 'Miss Wallace,' occupies a prominent place; for beauty of treatment and character, and graceful simplicity of feeling and colour. Something similar in general style, but broader in manner and deeper in colour, is the 'Preparing for a Fancy Dress Ball,' of later date—a group of portraits, full of character and power.

In Subject, with some few important exceptions, Etty has not realized any consistently original manifestation. His is mostly the range of familiar stock subjects, sacred, classic, or classically fanciful, and traditional, which engaged his great predecessors; interspersed with studies from human external nature, not guided by any more specific aim or tendency, than the development of the artistic beauty and significance therein latent. From Shakspeare, from the English or modern poets generally, nothing, save only some one or two suggestions from Spenser and Milton, has been derived. And nothing has been given, with some few exceptions, bearing direct reference to strictly modern feeling, modern sympathies, modern aspirations. That he has proved the feasibility of an English historical school—one truly national, that is, characteristic, fresh, bearing within itself the seed of a continuing life, is by no means apparent to us. All *he* proves is, the capacity of highest individual greatness to shine through, ennoble, and render eloquent whatever Expression it may single out, or find to its hand, or have forced upon it. His greatness is that of a powerful and individual Genius. And this has shone forth in his working with peculiar nobility,—in full, clear light. As a true Poet; as a conceiver of beautiful and subtile thoughts, sometimes, severe and religious—in the large sense of the word, sometimes, dreamy, luxurious, vague; as a realizer of deep, true feeling; as an Interpreter of somewhat of the glory of God's Nature; as an achiever of highest purely artistic greatness,—of

design, manner, and above all, of colour, he must take a rare and elevated rank, among painters. He is, indeed, a true and genuine Painter. And after Hogarth and Leslie,—the masters of Expression and of Individual Character, and the Thinker on canvass and Poet, Turner, there is no man of whom the English school has greater reason to be proud, than of William Etty.

ART. VII.—*Athanasia; or, Four Books on Immortality.* By John Howard Hinton, A.M. 12mo. pp. 528. London: Houlston and Stoneman.

THERE has probably never been an age in the history of this world, in which devout and earnest minds have not frequently sought to explore the grand realities of that other world 'not seen as yet.' Natural feelings of curiosity, personal anxiety about the future, and philanthropic concern for others, are the chief motives by which the thoughts of men have been led in this direction. And 'until the day-break, and the shadows flee away,' this same yearning to understand the mysteries of future being will continue to characterise a large, and that the best, portion of mankind.

That the results which have accrued from speculation, reason, and even the attentive study of divine truth, have materially differed, can scarcely excite surprise. To a far greater extent than pride will admit us to allow, or, it may be, perceive, we are under the influence of theological system, early training, accidental bias, and even constitutional temperament. Few, very few, are prepared calmly and rigorously to investigate truth so far as it can be clearly ascertained; to hold it firmly, whatever its bearing on any class of men or interests; and, when the bounds of certainty are reached, candidly to acknowledge that what lies beyond is the subject of mere conjecture. Yet all this is the part of wisdom, and absolutely essential to the attainment of satisfactory results.

Nor can we overlook the fact that the Book of God, our only sure guide in relation to the life to come, contains little direct information on this momentous subject. It is obviously not designed to meet the cravings of curiosity. A distinct and complete exhibition of future bliss or misery would have formed a practical deviation from the settled plan of the Most High, which

requires us to walk 'by faith, not by sight.' Hence we have only a few leading principles for our guidance, admonition, and encouragement; and these not systematically presented, but scattered over the pages of the sacred volume. Hence, too, those very principles are generally clothed in the language of metaphor, and the illustrations by which they are rendered intelligible and impressive, are, for the most part, derived from objects which differ from those of futurity, and necessarily fall short of their full representation.

On these and similar accounts we cannot marvel at diversity of sentiment respecting the future state. So long as the word of God, and the minds of its readers, remain what they are, equal intelligence and piety will, beyond a doubt, continue to be ranged on opposite sides of questions deeply interesting in a speculative point of view, and not wanting in practical influence.

We might, however, have imagined that a question so primary as that which relates to the duration of man's existence, would, if ever raised, have been speedily settled by universal consent. Manifestly, it is a question the answer to which must enter deeply into every motive legitimately adapted to tell on human character and conduct. On a point like this we might naturally look for unequivocal, unmistakeable information in the sacred volume, and for consequent unanimity, both of judgment and of testimony, on the part of all who bow to its authority as supreme. The fact, however, is, that there has never been an age since that of the Apostles, in which controversy has not existed on this very point. Some have always been found contending, in opposition to the general sense of the Church of Christ, either, philosophically, against the doctrine of man's natural immortality, or, theologically, against that of eternal punishment.

Our readers are conversant with the recent revival of this controversy. Their attention has been invited, in distinct articles, to the leading publications which have appeared during the last few years.

The fact cannot be denied that a strong tendency in favour of what (to avoid circumlocution) we may call the heterodox sentiment, is observable in quarters where there can be no suspicion of departure from the vital principles of Christian faith. The efforts made by the leaders on this side for the extension of their views have been open and vigorous. Hitherto, however, there has been wanting a calm, patient, argumentative attempt to expose the fallacy of their sentiments, although those sentiments are regarded by a vast majority of Christians as alike unfounded and mischievous. This was deeply to be regretted by every sincere inquirer after truth. That the case should be permitted to go by default, could not be desired even by those

whose writings have impugned the views commonly entertained. As honest men, which we unfeignedly believe them to be, and aware that much of the ground they seek to maintain is new, they must have been anxious to know what could be fairly said in opposition to their views. Nor can we wonder if they have been little moved by mere anathemas. Conscious of their faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, they have felt that their brethren did them wrong when classing them with Unitarians and infidels. Men whose sincere conviction is that they are repairing and beautifying the Temple of Truth, may be forgiven if they ask for argument rather than declamation—for proof, in addition to the mere assertion that they are undermining its foundations.

Under the influence of considerations like these, we hailed the announcement of the volume now before us. There is, probably, no man living who is more competent than its author to deal with the questions at issue. As an acute and practised dialectician, Mr. Hinton has few equals. Firm attachment to all which he deems truth, ensures the rigorous investigation of any theological novelty to which he may turn his attention; while his well-known mental independence, and signal departures from some of the beaten tracks of popular theology, prepare him to extend sympathetic and generous treatment to those who are adopting (in connexion, however, with other topics) a course somewhat similar to his own. Referring to the authors of the books he has reviewed, Mr. Hinton says:—

‘In the early period of my life and ministry, I occupied a position similar to theirs. In my first production, “Theology,” and afterwards more fully in my treatise on the Work of the Holy Spirit, I endeavoured to grapple with what I then thought, and still think, popular theological errors, and placed myself in the ranks of those (little at that time imagining how numerous a class they were) who had striven to exhibit a more intelligible gospel. . . . On this ground I sympathize in a lively manner with the authors whose works I have here noticed. . . . As aspiring to become theological reformers, I can thoroughly enter into their feelings, and I find pleasure in ascribing to them none but the purest and the noblest. They have, doubtless, meant well to God, to man, and to truth; and in the approbation of God and their own hearts, at least, they will find their reward.’—Preface, pp. viii. x.

This is a good beginning. It had been well for the cause of truth had a similarly courteous and Christian spirit generally pervaded works devoted to theological controversy!

An attentive and repeated perusal of the volume before us has more than confirmed our previous impressions respecting the fitness of the author for the work he has undertaken. As a specimen of keen, masterly, critical dissection, we deem it unique. There are, indeed, within its compass, statements which we have

read with surprise, and criticisms on passages of Scripture in which we cannot altogether concur.* But, taken as a whole, we have rarely perused a controversial work with feelings of satisfaction so deep and unmingled.

'Athanasia' forms an elaborate review of no less than six writers, who, in different publications, and on distinct grounds, have opposed the doctrine of man's immortality as commonly held by Christians. It is a fact deserving notice, as indicative of the extension of thoughtful inquiry on this topic, that these writers are not found concentrated in some one section of the Church, but scattered over nearly all its principal divisions. One author is an Episcopalian, another a Baptist, the third an Independent, the fourth (if we mistake not) a Presbyterian, and the fifth has been associated with the Plymouth Brethren. One work is anonymous; but its author is generally understood to appertain to the Countess of Huntingdon's connexion.

It would be absolutely impossible to present within suitable limits the analysis of a volume, which consists for the most part of minute criticism, and that upon productions so numerous and varied. We can but notice, and that in a cursory manner, some of the principal features of the work.

Mr. Hinton resolutely excludes all reference to the question of eternal torment. Disappointing as this course may be to some of his readers, it is one in the wisdom of which we perfectly concur. There is probably no topic on which it is at once more necessary and more difficult to reason with perfect calmness. We are in imminent danger of insensibly allowing the judgment to be warped by feeling. But to whatever extent we permit this, so far must the truth and value of our views be impaired. Hence it is well to settle first, and on independent ground, the abstract question of man's immortality. The consequences properly form an after consideration. Reversing this order, minds of a certain class will be placed in imminent peril of tampering with the word of God. Almost unconsciously they allow their reasonings to assume some such form as this:—If man be naturally immortal, the wicked must suffer for ever; but the wicked will not so suffer,—therefore man is not naturally immortal. The fallacy here is too transparent to require a moment's notice. There is, however, strong reason to suspect that the negative conclusion as to man's immortality has been often reached by this or some similar process. Few minds can withstand the appalling influence of the consideration of future woe. To the entire absence of this exciting topic, we are disposed to attribute much of the calm

* We especially refer to the remarks on Deuteronomy xviii. 18—20, as compared with Acts iii. 22, 23—and on Psalm viii. compared with Hebrews ii. 6—9, 'Athanasia,' pp. 210—414.

dignity which distinguishes 'Athanasia;' as well as the fact, of which we entertain no kind of doubt, that it will always be felt to occupy a most important place in the present controversy.

The first treatise examined by Mr. Hinton is by a clergyman of the Church of England,* and is entitled 'Christ our Life.' As this work has not received a previous notice in the pages of our journal, we extract its leading propositions, and indicate in few words the mode in which they are disposed of by our author. The writer sets himself to prove:—

- ' I. That man is not, by creation or natural constitution, immortal.
- ' II. That immortality, or eternal life, is, in the proper sense of the words, derived to man only through Christ.
- ' III. That it is communicated in regeneration, and is identical with the indwelling of the Spirit of Christ in believers.
- ' IV. That those who do not believe the Gospel, and have not the Spirit of Christ, shall finally be destroyed, or perish, as to all life.'

Of the first of these propositions Mr. Hinton clearly shows that the author has advanced no proof. He has not, indeed, thoroughly apprehended the precise bearing of his own words. It is one thing to show that man *is mortal*, and quite another to prove that he is *not immortal*; just as in the Unitarian controversy, it is perfectly easy to prove the true humanity of the Son of God, without thereby impairing in the least the argument in favour of his deity. The point which ought to have been established is, that man was not originally formed with the capability and prospect of living for ever; and this is left untouched.

The second proposition proceeds upon the unfounded and mischievous assumption that Christ endured the exact penalty which was due to those on whose behalf he died, and that that penalty consisted in the absolute extinction of life: an extinction which the author actually affirms in its widest extent. 'The human soul of Christ,' he says, 'died at the same time with his body.'

Under the third proposition, the English clergyman is shown to have utterly confounded the physical and spiritual in his views of regeneration: a mistake no less subversive of sound, evangelical principles on this fundamental point, than is the (kindred?) theory of baptismal regeneration. As the same sentiment, with some slight modifications, is found in nearly every work we have yet seen on this side of the controversy, it may be well to quote Mr. Hinton's closing remarks upon it. The author, he says,—

' Plainly represents regeneration as a physical act upon God's part,

* Is this a misprint? Our copy of the work calls the author a clergyman of the Church of *Ireland*.

and the transformation produced by it in man as a physical change. Now, if a physical change be held essential to salvation, the great work of redemption is withdrawn from the moral administration of God. It is no longer anything more than an exercise of his creating power, or a department of his sovereign providence. This is far, indeed, from being the aspect of the gospel. There salvation is presented to the hope of man in connexion with commands, exhortations, and encouragements to action, in such a manner as to indicate that by the required action it may be secured; while, on the other hand, inaction is not only lamented as foolish, but denounced as criminal, and represented as leaving on the undone the reproach of their own destruction. But all this is unfounded and fallacious, if the change required is physical and not moral—not of character but of nature. The aspect of our author's doctrine thus becomes very serious: it amounts to nothing less than an entire subversion of the gospel.'—P. 58.

Similar, but still more striking remarks on the same point, as involved in the scheme of Mr. Dobney, are found at p. 157, and in that of Mr. White, at p. 182.

The fourth proposition, as stated by its author, is at variance with other parts of his scheme. If man be not 'by creation or natural constitution, immortal,' what need of an act of destruction for the cessation of his being? We may, indeed, ask, what possibility of its occurrence? for, according to this author, he passes out of existence in the ordinary course of nature. Soul and body die together. There remains nothing to be destroyed at the last day, or at any future period.

The treatises of Messrs. Dobney and White have already received extended notice in our pages, and the three remaining works do not possess sufficient individuality to render necessary any analysis of their contents, or statement of the manner in which they are examined in 'Athanasia.'

Mr. Hinton devotes a short but valuable chapter to the exhibition of various discrepancies between the several writers under review. The *argumentum ad hominem* has usually, we allow, little real weight; still, when the same conclusions are maintained from premises not merely independent, but contradictory, such contradictions may, and ought to be, employed as one element of our adjudication on the common result. We find two of the authors under review earnestly contending that the *life* which the righteous are said to receive from Christ, means *happy existence*; three others contend as earnestly, that it means *existence* only. Mr. White speaks of death as a 'separation of the parts of our nature,' 'without any reference to the destiny of the component portions of it.' The other writers refer to death, in varied phraseology, as the utter and everlasting cessation of being. We cannot but suspect the truth of conclusions

which are derived from premises, and even definitions, diametrically opposed to each other.

We proceed to touch on some of the chief features in 'Athanasia,' so far as they tend to exhibit the author's own views, and his mode of sustaining them. Mr. Hinton takes the lowest ground, on the great question of man's immortality, which is compatible with an affirmative judgment. We quote two or three of his statements. Mr. Dobney, he says, 'professes to enter into conflict with "the orthodox, or popular party," among the evangelical Dissenters of the present day. I know of no evidence, however, that they, or any considerable number of them, conceive man to be immortal in the sense that he "*positively shall live for ever*;" yet this is the strictly-defined position against which the author professes to direct his destructive reasoning.' (P. 72.) Again, in reference to Mr. White:—'It is beyond question that the author uses the word "immortal," in common with Mr. Dobney, as meaning that mankind "*positively shall live for ever*." This, however, is not the received doctrine of man's natural immortality.' (P. 169.) And once more:—'What I assert is man's *natural adaptation* to live for ever. What Mr. White aims to prove relates to man's *actually* living for ever.'

Whether Mr. Hinton's judgment respecting the state of opinion, on this topic, be correct, we shall not stop to inquire.

We suspect that a majority of orthodox Dissenters, without troubling themselves to think much of the matter, do yet believe—if their mental act can be termed such—all men to be immortal, in the sense that they *positively shall live for ever*. We do not, however, doubt that the author of 'Athanasia' has greatly facilitated his undertaking by occupying the ground he has taken. Indeed, it is not easy to conceive of any of his opponents, after the attentive perusal of Mr. Hinton's arguments, caring to reply to the statement that men 'have a natural adaptation to immortality.'

The definitions of the terms 'life' and 'death,' which we find in 'Athanasia,' appear to us the most satisfactory we have ever seen:—

'Life,' says Mr. Hinton, 'is a word primarily used to express the active or living condition of organic substances; and it is not, in its strict or literal sense, applicable to anything but organic substances, vegetable or animal. . . . When a human being dies, the separation of the soul from the body takes place; but this is rather a collateral and accidental, than the main fact. The principal change, I conceive, is the cessation of the organic functions. The existence of the spirit is, thenceforth, necessarily separate; and the body, as organic, perishes. . . . Nothing has occurred but the stoppage of certain organic functions, entailing a change in the condition, or mode of existence, of the

being concerned. This is death. And this is the primary idea of the word "death," from which all others are by analogy derived. In the case of man, the cessation of the animal functions terminates his connexion with this world, because it reduces him to a mode of existence to which this world is not adapted; but it involves no cessation of existence in either the body or the soul.'—Pp. 28; 199; 448, 449.

Such are Mr. Hinton's explanations of the terms when literally employed. When used metaphorically in the sacred volume, he understands them as intended to express, simply and uniformly, the ideas of happiness and misery. The wages of sin is misery. The gift of God through Jesus Christ is happiness lasting as our nature. Here Mr. Hinton has an evident advantage over his opponents, who suppose, in each case, a double metaphor—and explain the one term as meaning happy existence, and the other, miserable destruction. In regard to the interpretation of Scripture, too, the question is not (as he shows most clearly, pp. 31, 128) between a literal and a metaphorical meaning, but between two which are equally metaphorical. Our author has placed it out of the power of his opponents to boast of their simple adherence to the literal language of Scripture. No less than the orthodox, they use the principal words in dispute metaphorically.

But it is time we allow Mr. Hinton to state his own sentiments on the momentous topic of man's immortality.

The chapter from which we quote is one of the most deeply interesting in the volume:—

'Negatively,' he says, 'I mean by immortality, I. Not future happiness. II. Not moral purity. III. Not eternity. IV. Not endless existence.

'Next, positively: I mean by immortality an adaptation to endless existence, but of a qualified kind. I. Not self-derived, or independent. II. Not inferring necessary endless existence, or indestructibility. III. Not ensuring actual endless existence. IV. But, natural; that is, arising out of the attributes of man's nature as created, and issuing in endless existence, unless prevented by some supernatural cause.

'When, therefore, I say that man is immortal, I mean that he is, by his nature, adapted to endless existence, and that he will exist without end, unless the course of his nature be interfered with by a superior power.'—Pp. 400, 401.

Our author proceeds to reduce the question at issue to the following simple form:—'Whether the Creator has, or has not, assigned any natural term (death being admitted not to be such) to the conscious being of man?' Denying the existence of any traces of an opinion favourable to the former alternative, he lays considerable stress on the fact that a belief in man's natural adaptation to endless being has, from the earliest times, existed in the world, and specifically in the Jewish nation.

He then asks, 'Can an opinion of human destiny be admitted as true, which is not known even to have had an existence among men? Or can an opinion of human destiny be rejected as false, which, although reason could not have ascertained it, has all but universally prevailed, has established itself in the very focus of celestial light, and has stood unrebuked in the presence of the Great Teacher sent from God?' (Pp. 406, 407.)

From the language of the sacred oracles, Mr. Hinton confirms the sentiment thus advanced, and then closes the direct statement of his case in the following impressive manner:—

'If the argument respecting the duration of future suffering shall be taken up from the point we have now reached, the attitude in which that question will stand is capable of easy and clear definition. We shall no longer hear of endless existence being the gift of God through Christ to believers, seeing that existence without any natural limit, and, consequently, without end, unless from some preternatural cause, is the prerogative of man, as man. This, however, will by no means authorize the conclusion that future suffering will not end. A defence of the contrary opinion may still be attempted, either on the ground that extinction constitutes the punishment of sin, or on the ground that happiness will finally be vouchsafed to all; but those who admit, with the authors before us, that if man's existence is naturally endless, penal misery must be so too, inasmuch as the words of scripture necessitate the belief that sinners will suffer as long as it is of their nature to exist, are by our conclusion shut up to the admission of endless suffering.

'The case is this. Before the whole race of man is an existence naturally endless—an existence constituting the theatre on which the righteous Governor will develop the issues of his moral administration, whether happy or miserable. The happy result of human probation, it is by our hypothesis assumed, will be realized in everlasting joy; and the question is, whether, in the alternative of a painful result, the scriptures lead us to expect that God will depart from the course of nature, and exterminate the guilty;—or whether they teach that both the issues of the divine system are, like itself, of a moral kind, and that the doom of the wicked will, in strict antithesis to the lot of the righteous, be everlasting sorrow. Upon this point there is much unanimity amongst the writers I have been reviewing. Although not everywhere consistent with themselves, with one accord they agree in this, and I agree with them, that, if man is to exist for ever, those who live and die in sin will for ever suffer; an issue which may God make us wise to avoid, for his mercy's sake! Amen.'

In taking leave of the author of 'Athanasia,' we cordially thank him for his valuable addition to our stores of controversial theology. We trust his pages will be honestly perused by those who have felt the influence of some of the works he has brought under review. One-sided readers ought always to suspect the sincerity of their attachment to the cause of truth. The love of theory is manifestly dominant in those who do not, and will not,

know anything of the objections which may be alleged against their favourite views.

Much as we have been disposed to wish that the Horatian maxim ('nonum prematur in annum') had been observed by some of the writers in the present controversy, we are not without hope that substantial good will arise from the discussion which has been carried on. Such will be the case if a deeper conviction of the weakness of mere human reason, when exercised on the invisible and the future, be produced in the minds of Christians—if the determination be more solemnly formed, more sacredly kept, than ever, to receive in the spirit of little children the teachings of God's holy word—if the folly of servile allegiance to man's creeds on the one hand, and of the eager reception of man's theories on the other, be more clearly discerned—if the ministers of Christ be led to confine themselves to the representations, and, as far as possible, to the very language of the sacred book, when dwelling on the dread realities of future woe—and, finally, if careless persons should be made to feel that for those who hear the gospel, and die without faith in it, there can be (we take the lowest ground) no *certainty* of escape from *everlasting* woe.

We are anxious to impress the foregoing remark on every inquiring mind. We have read both sides of the controversy, not in the spirit sometimes imputed to the orthodox, but in that of earnest and candid investigation; and we cannot hesitate to avow our conviction, that all the opponent writers together have *failed to demonstrate that future misery cannot by any possibility be everlasting*. But until this be done, nothing is done. And done it never can be. While within the compass of six verses (Mark ix. 43—48), we find Him before whom Sheol is naked and Destruction uncovered, affirming of the wicked in hell, no less than three times, 'Their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched,' it is impossible to deny (whatever may be said about figurative language, and the valley of the son of Hinnom) that future misery *may* be everlasting. This is the lowest ground; but it is sufficient. The barest possibility, in connexion with a subject like this, ought to be potent as the most absolute certainty. The teachers of religion should beware of inducing in their fellow-creatures a hope which may make ashamed.

We are well aware that excellent men like Messrs. White and Dobney will reply, 'What greater degradation or curse than to be blotted out of being? The desire for immortality is instinctive in the human breast. The dread of ultimate annihilation must be, to a rational creature, the most powerful motive to fly from all evil.' We more than doubt it. These estimable

writers err in judging of the mass of mankind from their own state of feeling. Chastened by habits of thought—and ennobled by the faith and hopes of the gospel—they are not specimens of their race. What care the titled blackleg, the polite debauchee, the public-house readers of the Sunday newspaper—what cares a criminal like Rush—for the abstract doctrine of immortality, or even for an immortality of bliss such as the Christian's heaven provides? It is only a noble mind which can admit the influence of noble motives. With men such as we have mentioned, the hope of annihilation, by whatever suffering preceded, would be as potent to produce continuance in sin, as the 'hope full of immortality' is, with men of a different stamp, to secure its utter abandonment.

Moreover, there is a difficulty in the scheme we have been noticing which alone, in our judgment, is sufficient to prove it unfounded and worthless. The actual and final punishment of sin is called in the word of God, 'death,' 'destruction,' 'perdition.' Under these and similar expressions, it is threatened to the ungodly as the most complete and awful manifestation of God's wrath. But these terms, according to the writers in question, denote strictly annihilation—the blotting of the wicked out of being; in other words, their entire and everlasting release from suffering which, though mental, is most intolerable—that very 'eternal repose' which is the *summum bonum* of the atheist! Is *this* the punishment of unrepented sin? *this* what the word of God represents as his fiery indignation? Verily, omnipotence can only bestow one greater boon on the holiest of mankind, and could not bestow on the wicked a favour they would more intensely desire, more thankfully receive!

We want yet one more book on the comprehensive subject before us—a careful collation and critical examination of every passage in the holy volume which relates to man's future destiny. Dr. Pye Smith's 'Scripture Testimony to the Messiah' might serve as a model. The man who, with adequate qualifications, undertakes and executes such a work, will confer on the Church of Christ a benefit of no ordinary kind.

ART. VIII.—*A Second Visit to the United States of North America.*

By Sir Charles Lyell, F.R.S. Two Vols. London: John Murray. 1849.

THOSE of our readers who are acquainted with the narrative of Sir Charles Lyell's former visit to the United States will open these volumes with considerable expectations. The sound sense which it displayed, its freedom from many of our insular prejudices, the general impartiality of its judgments, and the fearlessness with which it exposed the defects of some of our own institutions, commended it to the confidence of all candid men; while the value of its scientific information entitled it to a high place amongst the permanent publications of the day. As we remarked at the time of its appearance, 'it is not to be confounded with the ordinary run of travels.'* The same qualities are apparent in the work now before us, and we discharge a pleasing duty in introducing it to our readers. Those who recur to such works with a view to incident merely, will be disappointed in the perusal of these volumes. They are not adapted to their taste. The author has evidently contemplated a higher and better object. He had something to communicate which was worth relating, and has never permitted himself to be diverted from its pursuit by the love of novelty, or the striving after dramatic effect. Not that his narrative is devoid of interest. Far from it. It is wanting, indeed, in the low and grosser element which charms the vulgar, but this is amply compensated by a pervading spirit of intelligence, which, without being blind to the defects, does justice to the people and institutions of the country visited. There is no undue prominence given to local peculiarities, no exaggeration of what may be termed Americanisms, no pleasure evinced in wounding the vanity of a somewhat irascible but noble people, no unworthy depreciation of the society, or caricature of the manners, of our transatlantic brethren. These things have been too common amongst our tourists, and their effect is to be deplored. It would be well for our countrymen to bear in mind that the people of the States are of Anglo-Saxon blood, that they show us what we ourselves should be, placed under other circumstances; that theirs is, in fact, but a modification of the English character, with some of its defects, and its virtues also, more prominent than are seen at home. These considerations

* Eclectic Review, October, 1845.

have been often overlooked by English travellers, and their productions have, in consequence, served only to irritate the Americans, instead of prompting us to grow wiser and better ourselves. Sir Charles Lyell is happily free from such faults, and those who follow in his steps would do well to bear in mind the suggestion he throws out at the conclusion of his work. 'They who wish,' he says, 'to give a true picture of the national character of America, what it now is, and is destined to become, must study chiefly those towns which contain the greatest number of native-born citizens. They must sojourn in the east, rather than in the west or south, not among the six million who are one half African and the other half the owners of negroes, nor among the settlers in the back-woods, who are half Irish, German, or Norwegians, nor among the people of French origin in Louisiana; for, however faithfully they may portray the peculiarities of such districts, they will give no better a representation of America, than an accurate description of Tipperary, Connemara, the West Indies, French Canada, Australia, and the various lands into which Great Britain is pouring her surplus population, would convey of England.'

We should have been glad, on some points, to have had a more decided expression of opinion. As an instance, we may refer to slavery—the opprobrium and curse of America. The views of the author on slavery itself are not suppressed, but the trumpet gives an uncertain sound respecting its abolition. It is shown to be a political and social evil, an institute fraught with mischief to all parties, to the master as well as to the slave, to the community as well as to the individual. But when the question of abolition is raised there is a hesitancy and half-heartedness which we regret. The noble band of American abolitionists may gather aid from the facts and logic of these volumes, but they will derive small encouragement from the sympathy of the author.

Sir Charles embarked with Lady Lyell at Liverpool, on the 4th of September, 1845, and arrived at Boston on the 19th. Soon after landing he witnessed a review of the Boston militia, which leads him to notice the progress of Peace Societies in the States, and the worse than folly of indulging in the philippics which usually distinguish the Fourth of July. There is sound philosophy in the following, which we commend to such of our readers as are yet tinctured with the war mania:—

'To many the Peace Associations appear to aim at objects as Utopian and hopeless as did the Temperance Societies to the generation which is now passing away. The cessation of war seems as unattainable as did the total abstinence from intoxicating liquors. But we have seen a great moral reform brought about, in many populous districts, mainly

by combined efforts of well-organized societies to discourage intemperance, and we may hope that the hostilities of civilized nations may be mitigated at least by similar exertions. "In the harbour of Boston," says Mr. Sumner, "the Ohio, a ship of the line, of ninety guns, is now swinging idly at her moorings. She costs as much annually to maintain her in service, in salaries, wages, and provisions, as four Harvard Universities." He might have gone on to calculate how many primary schools might be maintained by the disbanding of single regiments, or the paying off of single ships, of those vast standing armies and navies now kept up in so many countries in Europe. How much ignorance, bigotry, and savage barbarism in the lower classes might be prevented by employing in education a small part of the revenues required to maintain this state of armed peace!"—Vol. i. pp. 24, 25.

From Boston our author proceeded to Portsmouth, a distance of fifty-four miles, which was accomplished at the rate of twenty miles an hour. The cost of railway travelling is much less than with us, and the construction of the carriage is more commodious.

'There were,' says Sir Charles, 'about eighty passengers in the train, forty of whom were in the same carriage as ourselves. "The car," in shape like a long omnibus, has a passage down the middle, sometimes called "the aisle," on the back part of which the seats are ranged transversely to the length of the apartment, which is high enough to allow a tall man to walk in it with his hat on. Each seat holds two persons, and is well-cushioned and furnished with a wooden back ingeniously contrived, so as to turn and permit the traveller to face either way, as he may choose to converse with any acquaintance who may be sitting before or behind him. The long row of windows on each side affords a good view of the country, of which more is thus seen than on our English railroads. The trains, moreover, pass frequently through the streets of villages and towns, many of which have sprung up since the construction of the railway. The conductor passes freely through the passage in the centre, and from one car to another, examining tickets and receiving payment, so as to prevent any delay at the stations.

'If we desire to form an estimate of the relative accommodation, advantages, comforts, and cost of the journey in one of these railways, as compared with those of England, we must begin by supposing all our first, second, and third-class passengers thrown into one set of carriages, and we shall then be astonished at the ease and style with which the millions travel in the United States. The charge for the distance of 54 miles, from Boston to Portsmouth, was $1\frac{1}{2}$ dollar each, or 6s. 4d. English, which was just half what we had paid three weeks before for first-class places on our journey from London to Liverpool (£2 10s. for 210 miles), the speed being in both cases the same. Here there is the want of privacy enjoyed in an English first-class carriage, and the seats, though excellent, are less luxurious. On the other hand, the power of standing upright when tired of the sitting posture is not to be despised, especially on a long journey, and the open view right and left from a whole line of windows is no small gain. But when we

come to the British second and third-class vehicles, cushionless, dark, and, if it happen to rain, sometimes closed up with wooden shutters, and contrast them with the cars of Massachusetts, and still more the average appearance, dress, and manners of the inmates, the wide difference is indeed remarkable; at the same time, the price which the humblest class here can afford to pay proves how much higher must be the standard of wages than with us.'—*Ib.* pp. 26, 27.

Frequent mention is made of the large and catholic temper of the American people, and more particularly those of New England. In this matter our author evinces the improved temper which is daily becoming more perceptible amongst our countrymen, and his example will do much to advance it. The misrepresentations of party writers have long been current on this subject. Their interests were too deeply involved to permit a dispassionate consideration of the case, and the simplest facts have consequently been distorted, and affirmations gravely made in face of the clearest evidence. The American people have learned wisdom from our follies. They have improved, in several cases, on the legislation of Europe, and in no respect is this improvement more perceptible than in the severance they have effected between civil government and the ministrations of religion. Restricting the former to its natural province, they have devolved the latter on the voluntary exertions of the people, and the result has proved eminently advantageous. Thrown on its own resources, the religious feeling of the community has done full justice to the confidence reposed in it. A larger provision has been made for the spiritual instruction of the people than the immense endowments of our own country have supplied, while the religious element has taken a far deeper hold on the public mind. With all its waywardness, and with every deduction which the severest judgment can require, it is now notorious that the American community is more religious than our own. Tried by any standard applicable to the case, we are compelled to admit a conclusion far from honourable to our national character. It is only recently that the truth has been apprehended, but evidence of the fact is so rapidly accumulating that a more than ordinary want of candour is now evinced in its denial. The state has been benefited by this separation in the same degree as religion. It has had the services of a whole people, and been relieved from the thousand perplexities which our own ecclesiastical legislation engenders. The facts which have resulted from the American system have startled and horrified many of our countrymen. We do not wonder at their doing so. As the simplicity and inexpensiveness of their republican institutions have been an offence to our aristocracy; so their exemption from ecclesiastical favouritism, the equal distri-

bution of the rights and privileges of citizenship amongst all classes of religionists, has been vehemently denounced by the worshippers of our State-made Church. Such men have felt, like the image-makers of Ephesus, that their craft was in danger, and we need not, therefore, wonder at the loudness of their outcry. Their misreports availed for a time, but the truth is now known, and the practical question involved in the Voluntary controversy is receiving a triumphant settlement from the New-England States.

The present volumes abound with illustrations, to which, however, we can do little more than advert. Speaking of Portland, the principal city of Maine, with a population of 15,000, Sir Charles Lyell tells us, 'There are churches here of every religious denomination: Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, Free-will Baptists, Universalists, Unitarians, Episcopalians, Roman Catholics, and Quakers, all living harmoniously together. The late Governor of the State was a Unitarian; and, as if to prove the perfect toleration of churches the most opposed to each other, they have recently had a Roman Catholic Governor.' To such an extent is the public mind imbued with this generous and tolerant spirit, that, when travelling through a large part of the Union immediately after the protracted presidential election of 1845-6, our author had great difficulty in learning to what denomination of Christians the two candidates, Mr. Clay and Mr. Polk, belonged. This is as it should be, though vastly different from what occurs in England:—

'I at length ascertained,' he says, 'that one of them was an Episcopalian, and the other a Presbyterian. This ignorance could by no means be set down to indifferentism. Had one of the candidates been a man of immoral character, it would have materially affected his chance of success, or probably if he had been suspected of indifference about religion, and not a few of the politicians whom I questioned were strongly imbued with sectarian feelings; but it was clear that in the choice of a first magistrate their minds had been wholly occupied with other considerations, and the separation of religion and politics, though far from being as complete as might be wished, is certainly one of the healthy features of the working of the American institutions.'—*Ib.* p. 179.

In disreputable contrast, we may mention that, on one of his voyages home from America, a British officer of rank informed our author, with much regret, that an Atheist had recently been appointed Attorney-General in one of our Colonies: 'I told him,' says Sir Charles, 'I know the lawyer in question to be a zealous Baptist,' on which he replied, 'Yes, Baptist, Atheist, or something of that sort.' So undiscerning and low-minded are the antipathies engendered by our ecclesiastical training.

An impression prevails extensively in this country unfavour-

able to the character of the newspaper press of America, and it would doubtless be easy to adduce apparent confirmations of it. Were it, however, as is alleged, we might wisely pause before saying much on the subject, lest our reproach should stimulate the rejoinder, 'Physician, heal thyself.' To say nothing of the more notoriously immoral portion of our press, such journals as the 'Times' are a standing reproach to the country, and could not maintain their position for a week, if the state of our public mind were sound and healthy. Able, but unprincipled; with vast resources, but destitute of conscience; at one moment suppressing truth, and at another, unblushingly, giving utterance to lies; pandering to the tyrant of the day, whoever that tyrant may be; opposing every generous and philanthropic scheme with virulence so long as there is hope of crushing it, and then contemptibly joining its ranks and claiming to share its triumphs; adopting the language of patriotism only to serve the purposes of power; the seeming friend but the bitter enemy of the poor; the 'Times' is emphatically the curse and the reproach of our land. While such journals flourish, we should be sparing in our reflections on the American press. But the character of American newspapers is far better than has been supposed. Impartial witnesses testify to this fact, and we are glad to adduce their evidence. 'Upon the whole,' says our author, 'the provincial newspapers appear to me to abound in useful and instructive matter, with many well-selected extracts from modern publications, especially travels, abstracts of lectures on temperance or literary and scientific subjects, letters on agriculture, or some point of political economy or commercial legislation. Even in party politics, the cheapness of the innumerable daily and weekly papers enables every villager to read what is said on more than one side of each question, and this has a tendency to make the multitude think for themselves, and become well informed on public affairs.' And again, we are told, 'newspapers for a penny or two-pence are bought freely by the passengers; and, having purchased them at random wherever we went in the Northern, Middle, Southern, and Western States, I came to the conclusion that the press of the United States is quite as respectable as our own. In the present crisis the greater number of prints condemn the war party, expose their motives, and do justice to the equitable offers of the English ministry in regard to Oregon. A large portion of almost every paper is devoted to literary extracts, to novels, tales, travels, and often more serious works. Some of them are specially devoted to particular religious sects, and nearly all of this class are against war. There are also some "temperance," and, in the North, "anti-slavery" papers.'

The intelligence of the people is proportioned to the wide circulation of their papers. It is far beyond what we know in this country, and may well shame our pride and indolence. Stopping on one occasion at an inn, in the State of Maine, Sir Charles was thrown into the company of several mechanics, who boarded there. 'Their coarse, though clean hands,' he tells us, announced their ordinary occupation. After dinner, many of them withdrew to the drawing-room, where females of their own class were playing on a piano-forte, while others occupied themselves with newspapers and books. They soon returned to their work, and the curiosity of our traveller prompted him to examine the books they had been reading. 'I found,' he says, 'that one was D'Israeli's "Coningsby," another Burns's Poems, and a third an article just reprinted from Fraser's Magazine, on "the Policy of Sir Robert Peel."'

Speaking of Boston, Sir Charles assures us that, considering the general spread of education, we ought not to wonder 'that crowded audiences should be drawn night after night, through the whole winter, in spite of frost and snow, from the class of labourers and mechanics, mingled with those of higher station, to listen with deep interest to lectures on natural theology, zoology, geology, the writings of Shakspeare, the beauties of "Paradise Lost," the peculiar excellences of "Comus" and "Lycidas," treated in an elevated style by men who would be heard with pleasure by the most refined audiences in London.'

Our English alarmists—if such still exist—who dread the influence of education on the popular mind, may derive consolation from the following:—

'Granting that time and leisure may be found, it will still be asked whether, if men of the humblest condition be taught to enjoy the poems of Milton and Gray, the romances of Scott, or lectures on literature, astronomy, and botany, or if they read a daily newspaper and often indulge in the stirring excitement of party politics, they will be contented with their situation in life, and submit to hard labour. All apprehension of such consequences is rapidly disappearing in the more advanced States of the American Union. It is acknowledged by the rich that where the free schools have been most improved, the people are least addicted to intemperance, are more provident, have more respect for property and the laws, are more conservative, and less led away by socialist or other revolutionary doctrines. So far from indolence being the characteristic of the labouring classes, where they are best informed the New-Englanders are rather too much given to overwork both body and brain. They make better pioneers, when roughing it in a log-house in the back-woods, than the uneducated Highlander or Irishman, and the factory girls of Lowell, who publish their "Offering" containing their own original poems and essays, work twelve hours a day, and have not yet petitioned for a ten-hour bill.'—*Ib.* p. 230.

The intelligence thus pervading the labouring class accounts, in part, for the social equality to which they are admitted, and which is undoubtedly promoted by the spirit of their republican institutions. Our author mentions some striking illustrations, of which the following is an example :—

‘During our stay in the White Mountains, we were dining one day at the ordinary of the Franconia Hotel, when a lawyer from Massachusetts pointed out to me “a lady” sitting opposite to us, whom he recognised as the chambermaid of an inn in the State of Maine, and he supposed “that her companion with whom she was talking might belong to the same station.” I asked if he thought the waiters, who were as respectful to these guests as to us, were aware of their true position in society. “Probably they are so,” he replied; “and, moreover, as the season is now almost over in these mountains, I presume that these gentlemen, who must have saved money here, will very soon indulge in some similar recreation, and make some excursion themselves.” He then entered into conversation with the two ladies on a variety of topics, for the sake of drawing them out, treating them quite as equals; and certainly succeeded in proving to me that they had been well taught at school, had read good books, and could enjoy a tour and admire scenery as well as ourselves. “It is no small gratification to them,” said he, “to sit on terms of equality with the silver-fork gentry, dressed in their best clothes, as if they were in an orthodox meeting-house.”’—*Ib.* pp. 93, 94.

Another point of contrast between the United States and our own country is the greater conservatism of the towns as compared with the rural districts. It was part of General Jackson's policy to persuade the small farmers and mechanics that they constituted the real strength of the community, and ought to combine against the capitalists and monied corporations. They were not slow in adopting his advice, and the democracy in consequence ‘derives its chief support from the landed interest, while the towns take the more conservative side, and are often accused by the landed proprietors of being too aristocratic.’ Our statesmen would do well to take heed to this fact, lest, in opposing a present evil on narrow and insufficient grounds, they give rise to another of yet greater magnitude.

Much has been said about the Unitarianism of New England, and more particularly of Massachusetts. Sir Charles Lyell, however, though inclined to look favourably on this class of religionists, informs us that even in Boston they do not constitute more than a fifth of the population, and, in the State generally, scarcely more than a tenth. Their prominent position arises rather from their talents, earnestness, and knowledge, than from their number. They are distinguished in some important respects from the Unitarians of this country, as the Memoirs of Dr. Channing clearly show. There is more life and warmth about

them, a larger play of the religious affections, less of what is merely negative, and a deeper sense of the spiritual and the devout, than we ordinarily see. Those who have listened to the heartless and dry logic which usually takes the place of Christian instruction in the Unitarian assemblies of this country, will be surprised at our author's account of the effects of the preaching of some of their ministers in America. The facts which he states are instructive. It is in vain to deny them, nor is it difficult to find their solution. The most potent appeals are those which assimilate most to an enlightened evangelicism, and the similarity of effect arises from the operation of the same cause. This identity may not extend far, but, to the limit of its prevalence, it produces analogous results. The class of facts thus elicited are worthy of philosophic study, and may possibly go to prove a similarity of temper far beyond what the terminology of sects would indicate. This opinion has frequently been forced on our minds in perusing some of the productions of the American Unitarian School. And it may well moderate the bitterness and rancour of theological strife. It should teach us, at least, the possibility of refraining from indiscriminate and sweeping judgments, without relinquishing our own conclusions. An omniscient Judge will preside over our future destiny, and he only, in many cases, is competent to determine how far the forms of human speech involve a rejection of essential truth. But to return to our author:—

‘In the course,’ he says, ‘of my two visits to the United States, I enjoyed opportunities of hearing sermons preached by many of the most eminent Unitarians,—among them were Channing, Henry Ware, Dewey, Bellows, Putnam, and Gannet,—and was much struck, not only with their good sense and erudition, but with the fervour of their eloquence. I had been given to understand that I should find a want of warmth in their discourses; that they were too cold and philosophical, and wanting in devotional feeling; but, on the contrary, they were, many of them, most impressive, full of earnestness and zeal, as well as of original views and instruction. One of the chief characteristics was the rare allusion made to the Old Testament, or to controverted points of doctrine, or to the mysteries of the Christian religion, and the frequency with which they dwelt on the moral precepts and practical lessons of the Gospels, especially the preaching of Christ himself. Occasional exhortations to the faithful, cheerfully to endure obloquy for the sake of truth, and to pay no court to popularity, an undue craving for which was, they said, the bane of a democracy, convinced me how much the idea of their standing in a hostile position to a large numerical majority of the community was present to their minds. On some occasions, however, reference was naturally made to doctrinal points, particularly to the humanity of Christ, his kindred nature, and its distinctness from that of the eternal, omnipotent, and incorporeal Spirit which framed

the universe; but chiefly on occasions when the orator was desirous of awakening in the hearts of his hearers emotions of tenderness, pity, gratitude, and love, by dwelling on the bodily sufferings of the Redeemer on the cross. More than once have I seen these appeals produce so deep a sensation, as to move a highly-educated audience to tears; and I came away assured that they who imagine this form of Christianity to be essentially cold, lifeless, and incapable of reaching the heart, or of powerfully influencing the conduct of men, can never have enjoyed opportunities of listening to their most gifted preachers, or had a large personal intercourse with the members of the sect.—*Ib.* pp. 174—176.

As the course of our traveller lay through several of the slave states, his volumes contain frequent allusions to the condition of the African race, and to the absurd and cruel prejudice against colour which prevails so widely. We are glad to learn respecting Virginia 'that several new settlers from the north have made a practical demonstration that slave-labour is less profitable than that of free whites,' and that estates were pointed out on the banks of the Potomac on which the latter had been substituted for the former. Land bought at five dollars an acre, on being cultivated by free labour, had been raised in value to forty dollars, to the no small surprise of surrounding proprietors. Several Sunday-schools also have been established for negroes, 'and it is a singular fact, that, in spite of the law against instructing slaves, many of the whites have been taught to read by negro nurses.' This is hopeful for the oppressed. It is the harbinger of coming good, and shows the powerful influences which are at work in undermining the nefarious system. Slavery cannot last much longer in the more advanced States of the Union. An adverse feeling is rapidly forming, and is now taking a practical shape which will make itself felt and respected. The most trying duty of the abolitionists has been discharged. They have nobly borne the opprobrium and popular violence attending the first stage of their enterprise, and have constrained a reluctant community to feel a deep and growing interest in the settlement of the question. Much has been said about their violence, the questionableness of their measures, their bitter personalities, and the antagonistic position they have assumed to the institutions and churches of the land; but we have yet to learn that less decided agencies would have wrought the good they have effected. We are not prepared to defend all which has been spoken or done; but have no hesitation in saying that when the history of human philanthropy is written, the policy and the plans of American abolitionists will constitute one of its noblest chapters. In the meantime the pro-slavery feeling of the States shows itself in most grotesque and absurd forms. The prejudice

against colour is its most palpable shape, and this is seen everywhere, and on all occasions. Were it not for the gravity of the interests involved, we should smile at some of its exhibitions. 'Instead of growing reconciled,' says Sir Charles Lyell, 'to the strong line of demarcation drawn between the two races, it appears to me more and more unnatural, for I sometimes discover that my American companions cannot tell me, without inquiry, to which race certain coloured individuals belong; and some English men and women, of dark complexion, might occasionally be made to feel awkward, if they were travelling with us here. On one occasion, the answer to my query was, "If I could get sight of his thumb nail I could tell you." It appears that the white crescent, at the base of the nail, is wholly wanting in the full blacks, and is that peculiarity which they acquire the last as they approximate by intermixture, in the course of generations, towards the whites.' So absurd a prejudice cannot endure. It grows out of the slave system, and will perish with it. Strong-minded and conscientious men are setting themselves against it, and the obvious justice of their protest will have its effect. The evil may be diminished even while slavery continues, but its extinction can be effected only by the concession of emancipation.

Physiologists have differed respecting the capacity of the negro race, and much learned trifling has been gravely propounded by some of them. The best refutation of the disparaging theories advocated is found in such facts as the following, which might be multiplied *ad infinitum*:—At Savannah, in the State of Georgia, Sir Charles Lyell attended public worship in a Baptist Church, containing a congregation of about 600 negroes. He was the only white man present, and tells us,—

'As soon as I entered, I was shown to a seat reserved for strangers, near the preacher. First, the congregation all joined, both men and women, very harmoniously in a hymn, most of them having evidently good ears for music, and good voices. The singing was followed by prayers, not read, but delivered without notes by a negro of pure African blood, a grey-headed, venerable-looking man, with a fine sonorous voice, named Marshall. He, as I learnt afterwards, has the reputation of being one of their best preachers, and he concluded by addressing to them a sermon, also without notes, in good style, and for the most part in good English; so much so, as to make me doubt whether a few ungrammatical phrases in the negro idiom might not have been purposely introduced for the sake of bringing the subject home to their familiar thoughts. He got very successfully through one flight about the gloom of the valley of the shadow of death, and, speaking of the probationary state of a pious man left for a while to his own guidance, and when in danger of falling saved by the grace of God, he compared it to an eagle teaching her newly-fledged offspring

to fly by carrying it up high into the air, then dropping it, and, if she sees it falling to the earth, darting with the speed of lightning to save it before it reaches the ground. Whether any eagles really teach their young to fly in this manner, I leave the ornithologist to decide; but when described in animated and picturesque language, yet by no means inflated, the imagery was well calculated to keep the attention of his hearers awake. He also inculcated some good practical maxims of morality, and told them they were to look to a future state of rewards and punishments in which God would deal impartially with "the poor and the rich, the black man and the white."

'I went afterwards, in the evening, to a black Methodist church, where I and two others were the only white men in the whole congregation; but I was less interested, because the service and preaching were performed by a white minister. Nothing in my whole travels gave me a higher idea of the capabilities of the negroes, than the actual progress which they have made, even in a part of a slave state, where they outnumber the whites, than this Baptist meeting. To see a body of African origin, who had joined one of the denominations of Christians, and built a church for themselves—who had elected a pastor of their own race, and secured him an annual salary; from whom they were listening to a good sermon, scarcely, if at all, below the average standard of the compositions of white ministers—to hear the whole service respectably, and the singing admirably performed, surely marks an astonishing step in civilization.'—Vol. ii. pp. 2—4.

We perfectly concur in this judgment, and refer to such facts as conclusive evidence of the falsity of the dishonouring theories to which some learned men have given their sanction. We are not concerned to maintain that the African intellect is equal to the European, or that the negro race, as a whole, is capable of rivalling the Anglo-Saxon. It is enough to affirm, and on this point we have no doubt, that the difference is not greater than exists in other cases—that it is one of degree only, and is greatly susceptible of modification by early and continued culture. Let the same process be carried on for centuries as our own country has witnessed, and the negro race would furnish its due quota to the poets, historians, philosophers, and statesmen of the earth.

The following account of the habits of the alligator, which our traveller had many opportunities of noting, will be read with pleasure by all who are interested in natural history. It confirms the truth of some statements which have been regarded as apocryphal :—

'When our canoe had proceeded into the brackish water, where the river banks consisted of marsh land covered with a tall reed-like grass, we came close up to an alligator, about nine feet long, basking in the sun. Had the day been warmer, he would not have allowed us to approach so near to him, for these reptiles are much shyer than formerly, since they have learnt to dread the avenging rifle of the planter,

whose stray hogs and sporting dogs they often devour. About ten years ago, Mr. Couper tells us, that he saw 200 of them together in St. Mary's River, in Florida, extremely fearless. The oldest and largest individuals on the Alatomaha have been killed, and they are now rarely twelve feet long, and never exceed sixteen and a half feet. As almost all of them had been in their winter retreats ever since the frost of last month, I was glad that we had surprised one in his native haunts, and seen him plunge into the water by the side of our boat. When I first read Bartram's account of alligators more than twenty feet long, and how they attacked his boat and bellowed like bulls, and made a sound like distant thunder, I suspected him of exaggeration, but all my inquiries here and in Louisiana, convinced me that he may be depended upon. His account of the nests which they build in the marshes is perfectly correct. They resemble haycocks about four feet high, and five feet in diameter at their bases, being constructed with mud, grass, and herbage. First they deposit one layer of eggs on a floor of mortar, and having covered this with a second stratum of mud and herbage eight inches thick, lay another set of eggs upon that, and so on to the top, there being commonly from one hundred to two hundred eggs in a nest. With their tails they then beat down round the nests the dense grass and reeds, five feet high, to prevent the approach of unseen enemies. The female watches her eggs until they are all hatched by the heat of the sun, and then takes her brood under her care, defending them, and providing for their subsistence. Dr. Luzenberger, of New Orleans, told me that he once packed up one of these nests with the eggs in a box for the Museum of St. Petersburg, but was recommended, before he closed it, to see that there was no danger of any of the eggs being hatched on the voyage. On opening one, a young alligator walked out, and was soon after followed by all the rest, about a hundred, which he fed in his house, where they went up and down the stairs, whining and barking like young puppies. They ate voraciously, yet their growth was so slow, as to confirm him in the common opinion, that individuals which have attained the largest size, are of very great age, though whether they live for three centuries, as some pretend, must be decided by future observation.'—Vol. i. pp. 336, 337.

New Orleans was originally peopled by the French, whose character is imprinted on it so legibly, that Sir Charles tells us: 'We might indeed have fancied that we were approaching Paris, but for the negroes and mulattos, and the large verandahs reminding us that the windows required protection from the sun's heat.' The French language is generally spoken, and the habits of the people closely assimilate to those of our continental neighbours. In the other towns visited, the national motto seemed to be, 'All work and no play,' but here all was gaiety and amusement. It was the last day of the Carnival, and the number of monks rivalled that of Rome. A marked difference is observable between the French and the Anglo-Saxon race. The one is stationary, the other progressive. The former abides by the usages

of its ancestry, the latter readily adapts itself to altered circumstances, and seeks aid from every improvement. The French sacrifice the future to the present, the Anglo-Saxon, the present to the future. Pleasure is the business of the one, and business the pleasure of the other. Returning in a steamer to New Orleans, Sir Charles tells us :—

‘Although impatient to return to the city, we could not help being amused when we learnt that our boat and all its passengers were to be detained till some hogsheads of sugar were put on board, some of the hoops of which had got loose. A cooper had been sent for, who was to hammer them on. “You may therefore go over the sugar-mill at your leisure.” I observed that all whose native tongue was English, were indignant at the small value which the captain seemed to set on their time ; but the creole majority, who spoke French, were in excellent humour. A party of them was always playing whist in the cabin, and the rest looking on. When summoned to disembark at their respective landings, they were in no haste to leave us, wishing rather to finish the rubber. The contrast of the two races was truly diverting,—just what I had seen in Canada. Whenever we were signalled by a negro, and told to halt “till Master was ready,” I was sure to hear some anecdote from an Anglo-Saxon passenger in disparagement of the creoles. “North of New Orleans,” said one of my companions, “the American captains are beginning to discipline the French proprietors into more punctual habits. Last summer, a senator of Louisiana, having forgotten his great-coat, sent back his black servant to bring it from his villa, expecting a first-rate steamer, with several hundred people on board, to wait ten or fifteen minutes for him. When, to his surprise, the boat started, he took the captain to task in great wrath, threatening never to enter his vessel again.”

‘My attention was next called to the old-fashioned make of the French ploughs. “On this river, as on the St. Lawrence,” said an American, “the French had a fair start of us by more than a century. They obtained possession of all the richest lands, yet are now fairly distanced in the race. When they get into debt, and sell a farm on the highest land next the levee, they do not migrate to a new region farther west, but fall back somewhere into the low grounds near the swamp. There they retain all their antiquated usages, seeming to hate innovation. To this day they remain rooted in those parts of Louisiana where the mother country first planted her two colonies two centuries ago, and they have never swarmed off, or founded a single new settlement. They never set up a steam-engine for their sugar-mills, have taken no part in the improvement of steam navigation, and when a railway was proposed in Opelousas, they opposed it, because they feared it would ‘let the Yankees in upon them.’ When a rich proprietor was asked why he did not send his boy to college, he replied, “Because it would cost me 450 dollars a year, and I shall be able to leave my son three more negroes when I die, by not incurring that expense.”’ Dr. Carpenter informed me, that the Legislature of Louisiana granted, in 1834, a charter for a medical college in the Second Municipality, which now,

in the year 1846, numbers one hundred students, and is about to become the medical department of a new university. The creoles were so far stimulated by this example, as to apply also for a charter for a French College in the first Municipality. It was granted in the same year, but has remained a dead letter to this day.—Vol. ii. pp. 156—158.

English tourists are accustomed to complain of the impertinent curiosity of the Americans, but our author's experience on this point furnishes no matter for reproach. 'We were not,' he informs us, 'asked more questions in regard to our private affairs than we had often been accustomed to submit to when travelling in France and Scotland.' The higher and more cultivated Americans are more annoyed by the practice than foreigners. Our readers will be amused by the following:—

'One of them, before we left Boston, as if determined that nothing should surprise us, related many diverting anecdotes to illustrate the inquisitive turn of his countrymen. Among other stories he gave a lively description of a New-Englander who was seated by a reserved companion in a railway car, and who, by way of beginning a conversation, said, "Are you a bachelor?" To which the other replied, dryly, "No, I'm not."—"You are a married man?" continued he—"No, I'm not."—"Then you must be a widower?"—"No, I'm not." Here there was a short pause; but the undaunted querist returned to the charge, observing, "If you are neither a bachelor, nor a married man, nor a widower, what in the world can you be?"—"If you must know," said the other, "I'm a divorced man!"

'Another story, told me by the same friend, was that a gentleman, being asked, in a stage coach, how he had lost his leg, made his fellow travellers promise that if he told them they would put no more questions on the subject. He then said, "It was bitten off." To have thus precluded them for the rest of a long journey from asking how it was bitten off, was a truly ingenious method of putting impertinent curiosity on the rack.'—*Ib.* p. 220.

We are glad to learn that Sir Charles 'met with no person in society who defended the aggression on the Mexican territory,' which has been so universally reprobated in this country. Had the American war carried with it the approbation of the community, it would have augured a demoralized state of the public mind, which we should deeply deplore. As it is, the Mexican war is amongst the most culpable enterprises of modern times; but we would much rather regard it as the crime of the government than of the people. Not that the latter are to be exempted from censure, but our moral judgments, in order to be useful, must be equitably adjusted to the guilt of the parties condemned. Our Indian policy furnishes too many instances of war which outrage the feelings of the English public, to allow of any sweeping con-

demnation of the American people on the ground of the attack on Mexico. A republican government, however, assumes to represent the popular feeling more exactly than one which is monarchical, and we do not, therefore, wonder at the prompt and severe censure which has followed this attack. But facts are more reliable than theories, and the science of politics must be carried far beyond its present point, before we can safely reason from the acts of the executive to the views and feelings of the community whose affairs they administer.

We have purposely abstained from quoting any of the geological sketches and speculations of our author, partly because our former article was directed principally to these, and partly because we were desirous of presenting our readers with his testimony, in correction of some prevalent misconceptions. The scientific parts of these volumes are very skilfully dovetailed with the narrative, and are presented in the form most acceptable to a general reader. Science is popularized so far as consists with its soundness, and adds greatly to the value without detracting from the interest of the work. We part from Sir Charles Lyell with sincere respect and many thanks,—though we much regret his short-comings on the slavery question,—and strongly recommend his volumes to the early acquaintance of our readers.

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- ART. IX.—1. *The Cause of Hungary Stated.* By Count Ladislas Teleki. Translated from the French by William Browne. London. 1849.
2. *De l'Intervention Russe.* Par le Comte Ladislas Teleki. 1^{re} and 2^{de} Feuille. Paris. 1849.
3. *De l'Esprit Publique en Hongrie, depuis la Révolution Française.* Par A. Degerando. Paris. 1849.
4. *A Narrative of Events in Vienna, from Latour to Windischgrätz.* By Berthold Auerbach. Translated by John Edward Taylor. With an Introduction and Appendix. London. 1849.

In taking a retrospect of the events of the past year, so pregnant with present interest and with the future destinies of Europe, it is a common error to refer their causes to the French revolution, and to regard the change of government in France as the main-spring of all the convulsions which have shaken the peace of the world, and given a new direction to the course of politics on the continent.

It will be remembered that, previous to the French revolution, the reform which the Pope had introduced, and the wide-spread idea of a political unity in Italy, had created a feverish excitement throughout the Peninsula, which, as early as January, broke out into a revolution in Sicily, and was manifested at Milan in the threatening hostility of the entire population against Austria. In Germany, likewise, the idea of a great united empire had seized on the minds of all classes of society, and had rendered the lamentable war in Schleswig-Holstein against Denmark inevitable. But still another cause of discontent and strife had been long and secretly at work, fostered by the policy of Metternich, and which has recently led to the most important changes that have yet taken place. The deadening pressure of Metternich's administration in Austria had created a growing discontent throughout the once easy-tempered population of her German provinces; whilst, on the other hand, the Slaves had for a long period watched for some turn in political events, which might concentrate the ruling power of the world in a great and united Slavish nation. In Hungary, the constitutional opposition of the Diet attained an important majority, which waged a parliamentary war against the absolutist aims of the Cabinet of Vienna. Thus, throughout Europe, there pre-existed for a long time past those elements of discord between rulers and people, which must eventually, in the fulness of time and circumstance, lead to their certain results.

The proclamation of a republic in France had the force and effect of an electric shock; still there was, at first, reason to think that the popular hopes of these different nations for constitutional freedom might be fulfilled peaceably, and that a prudent and timely relinquishment of the old system of despotic rule might obviate the causes of open strife.

The princes, as well as the people, of the German nations, had given their assent to the summoning of a national parliament at Frankfort, on which the hopes of all parties seemed fixed, as a source of conciliation, a bond of union and strength. The Frankfort parliament was to be the cradle of German unity and freedom, whilst republicans and monarchists agreed to renounce their differences on the altar of national union. After a short conflict in Berlin and Vienna, the people obtained the promise of a constitution, and the abandonment of the rule of absolutism. A responsible ministry was guaranteed to Hungary, which confirmed that nation in the hope that the new Austrian constitution would be founded on the basis of a federation—the only one which could permanently cement the union of Galicia, Bohemia, and Italy. There was likewise a time when a hope was entertained, that the Milanese territory might, under certain

conditions, acquire its independence, upon engaging to bear a portion of the debt of Austria.

But all these hopes were shipwrecked. The want either of purpose or honesty in the continental cabinets, the imbecile character of most of the princes, and the total absence of statesman-like education and views in the leaders of the popular party, but above all, the circumstance that the people everywhere, instead of directing their efforts and restricting their wishes to *one* object, strove simultaneously for the achievement of two, freedom and unity, without possessing the power and perseverance requisite to secure both,—these combined were the chief causes why the political changes which, in the spring of last year, were regarded as of easy accomplishment, were, in the end, carried out only partially, and in every case attended by political convulsions.

In no country were the effects of the crisis more fearful, or of greater moment to Europe at large, than in Austria; and it is still a question, which has now to be decided on the field of battle, whether on the ruins of the Austrian empire the kingdom of Hungary shall arise strong, vigorous, and free; or whether, by force of Russian aid, Austria will retain her sway over the extent of her former dominions, at the expense of every source of internal strength which gives stability to a country—a bankrupt equally in her credit, her finances, and the affections of her people, dependent on Russian aid, and eventually a slave to Russian dictation.

One thing, at least, is certain, that the events of the past year have broken the power of Austria; conquering or conquered, she has sacrificed her position among the states of Europe, and can no longer claim that measure of respect which has been hitherto conceded to her; she must moderate her pretensions and humble her pride. The real cause of this change has been the duplicity of her statesmen, who at the very time when the Emperor Ferdinand ratified the enactments proposed by the Hungarian Diet, were actually meditating the means of abrogating those laws. With a view to effect this, they incited the Croats and Servians against the Hungarians, furnishing them with arms, ammunition, and money, at the same moment that the Emperor Ferdinand declared them rebels. Their intent was simply to carry out and perfect the centralization of the Austrian empire.

In all empires which have acquired, either by conquest or inheritance, large territories, uncemented by any national affinity or tie, and inhabited by peoples differing in origin, language, and laws, such ideas of centralization will from time to time arise. Alexander the Great aimed at uniting Greece, Persia, and all the provinces of the great Assyrian empire, under one and the same

code of laws. The Capitularies of Charlemagne obtained equal force and effect at the same time in France, Italy, and Germany. Nevertheless, all these kingdoms speedily fell asunder as soon as the iron grasp which held them together was relaxed. In centralized states, the source of permanence lies in the union of nations of one race, of kindred languages, and of the same modes of faith, or, at least, principles of conduct. Nations of different characters can find a bond of union, and a free source of development, in a federative state alone; it was only by leaving each people whom she subdued in full possession of their laws and religion, that Rome came to be the mistress of the world. But the most perfect means of carrying out a system of centralization, in governments composed of collective and heretogeneous states, are essentially artificial: anomalous as it may appear, state policy requires a government, under such circumstances, to foster the elements of national variance, for the very purpose of securing a national union. Race has to check race,—the executive officers among one people are purposely chosen from another, and all the jealousies of nationality are called into operation. This has in all times been the case in Austria; but that country carried the system to its extreme. With the exception of Hungary and Transylvania, which have ever retained a guaranteed national and constitutional administration, the territories forming the Austria empire, Galicia, Bohemia, and Italy, have been governed by German and Tyrolese magistrates, and the German provinces by Bohemian officers, who were equally foreign to the people and the country under their administration. This policy has been consistently carried out for centuries, and the Court party at Vienna have uniformly acted on the conviction, that a strict system of centralization and the employment of one race as a check on another afforded the only, but at the same time an effectual, means of annulling all constitutional guarantees, and of eradicating the seeds of popular liberty.

Upon the proclamation of a Constitution in Vienna, the bureaucracy and the military class in Austria, whose notions of patriotism are restricted to Government place and commission, worked themselves up into an enthusiasm for a great and united Austria, partly with a feeling of loyalty, partly from servility, partly also in good faith: but there existed also a third class, who supported the schemes of the Camarilla from motives of mere selfish interest: these were the capitalists of Vienna. But here, again, the richest firms on the Bourse are foreigners, whose knowledge of the internal administration of the various provinces of Austria was simply sufficient to show them her desperate financial position, and that its ruin was imminent,

unless averted by a drain of the rich provinces of Italy and Hungary,—an object which could only be attained by means of a perfected system of centralization.

The Court party, who, in spite of the promised constitutional concessions, aimed at maintaining an absolute sway, thus found ready tools to abet the prosecution of their designs: they knew their friends, and they also knew well enough that their most formidable enemy was Hungary, where a system of self-government had for centuries taken firm root, and borne the fruits of a healthy and vigorous independence. Prince Metternich was too well versed in the history of Hungary and of Austria, not to desire prudently to avoid any rupture during his government; it is true that in the year 1822-3, and again in 1836 and 1844, he made attempts to sap the foundations of the ancient constitution of Hungary by endeavouring virtually to supersede the free election of the municipal magistrates, and imposing restrictions on the county assemblies; but when he saw the opposition his schemes had to encounter, the wily statesman retracted his proposed measures, and sacrificed the tools of his policy; Counts Almásy, Cziráky, and Pálffy, lost their Hungarian appointments, and were indemnified by Austrian pensions and sinecures. After the fall of Metternich, however, the secret influence of the Archduchess Sophia succeeded in placing men at the head of affairs, ignorant of the country they were called to govern, equally unscrupulous and daring, and who resolved to carry out the system of centralization at all hazards, relying upon sword and bayonet to quell any opposition to their schemes. Laws, guarantees, compacts, nay the coronation oaths of fourteen kings were in their eyes obstacles too trifling to arrest their designs, and they regarded the Vienna Revolution with a certain kind of satisfaction, as, in their opinion, leaving a *tabula rasa* for their operations. New allies, on whom they had not at first reckoned, voluntarily came forward to aid their schemes; the Slavish nations soon perceived that their votes in a constitutional Austrian Diet must always command a majority, and, in spite of their own liberal views, they lent their support to all the intrigues directed by the Austrian ministers against Hungary. At length, however, when Count Stadion dissolved the Diet at Kremsier, and in the constitution of the 4th of March revealed the designs of the Cabinet, the Slaves at once perceived that for a whole year they had been the dupes of the Austrian Ministry and the Camarilla, and that in spite of all the boasted concessions of liberty of the press, a *habeas-corpus* act, freedom of religious profession, and trial by jury, the ulterior object was not to establish a basis of national liberty, but to perfect a system of centralization. Nowhere was the general indignation at the announcement of this

constitution more loudly expressed than in the Slavish provinces of the empire: the Bohemians protested; the Servians tore the charter in pieces when presented to them; the Croats up to the present day have refused to publish, and persist in rejecting it. The immediate consequence of the proclamation of this constitution was the extension of martial law to those parts of the Austrian monarchy which had hitherto escaped its infliction. The liberty of the press was everywhere suspended, with the exception of some small provincial towns; and instead of the establishment of trial by jury throughout the empire, the country is ruled arbitrarily by military courts, nominally appointed to try political crimes, but virtually usurping the whole authority of law; it may be imagined that, under such a state of things, anything distasteful to the Government is readily converted into a crime against the State, at the caprice or command of a military judge. Mr. Brandt, a printer in Pressburg, for corresponding with a Breslau journal prohibited in the Austrian States, and communicating news disadvantageous to the Imperial armies, is incarcerated for three years by sentence of court-martial. Marcibányi, one of the richest untitled noblemen in Hungary, is sentenced to a heavy fine for simply refusing to publish an Imperial edict. A Calvinist schoolmaster is seen tearing the proclamation of an Austrian general, and is punished with fifty lashes. Major Szél, after the battle of Bábolna, is found on the field covered with wounds; he is sentenced to six years' confinement. The fortress of Leopoldstadt surrenders at discretion, and the commander, Ordody, is imprisoned for seven years, and the second in command, Baron Mednianszky, hung, by court-martial. The privy councillor, Count Leopold Nadásdy, accompanies the Hungarian army to Schwechat, as a major in the National Guard of the Comorn county, but takes no part in the battle; to justify his conduct, he voluntarily presents himself to Prince Windischgrätz, who dismisses him in January; but, in June, at the command of Haynau, he is arrested in Carlsbad, and sentenced by court-martial to confinement for four years, and a fine of £10,000. Be it remembered that such acts as these are committed in a country where the law distinctly declares that, at no time, and under no circumstances, shall exceptional courts have jurisdiction in cases of high-treason. But it seems that the Vienna Government regards not only the ancient constitution of Hungary, but the criminal laws of the nation, as entirely abolished by the new *octroyée* constitution of the 4th of March, and purposes to supersede the authority of law by the arbitrary dicta of a despotic government. To what political condition is the term *anarchy* more justly applicable than such an one?—and yet the Vienna

press designates it as 'the re-establishment of order, the *re-organization of Hungary!*'

To all the Austrian generals are attached 're-organizing' civil officers, whose instructions have not yet fully come to light; one important duty they have to perform is, however, clear, from their mode of procedure,—that of annulling the constitutional election of the municipal officers, and substituting officials in immediate dependence on the central authority. Thus, there is a direct infringement of the most valuable heritage of national freedom,—the principle and right of self-government,—and a forcible attempt to introduce in its place the expensive and fatal system of centralization. This is, perhaps, scarcely to be wondered at; the commissioners are for the most part foreigners, unacquainted with the constitution, the habits, and the requirements of the people of Hungary; in fact, they have even alienated from Austria provinces of her empire which, at the instigation of the Court party, had hitherto been the tools of the Government against Hungary. The commands of Colonel Dorsner, a German, excited a feeling of desperation in that portion of the Saxon-land which is occupied by Russians; the councillor, Fluck, who was forced to fly from the popular rage in Dalmatia, in March, 1848, is attached to the Ban Jellachich. The Banal Council in Agram protested openly against the *octroyée* constitution, and in Transylvania the commissioners appear to fall out among themselves. Whilst Dorsner acts in that capacity in the south, the Viennese Minister of the Interior, Alexander Bach, appoints his brother, who does not even understand the Hungarian language, as government commissioner for the re-organization of the whole of Transylvania. Count Zichy, a Hungarian, is annexed to the army of Paskiewich, as commissioner; but that prince has given him to understand that his sole duties are to provide for the army. At the head of the commissioners stands Baron Geringer, who has to organize this monstrous system of confusion. He is by birth a Transylvanian-Saxon, and equally ignorant of the language and position of Hungary; from his earliest youth he has held an appointment in the Finance Ministry at Vienna, and was recently Consul-General for Austria in Constantinople. This post of head-commissioner had been previously offered to several Hungarian magnates of the Conservative party; but the Apponys, Jósikas, and Desöffys, refused to aid in the suppression of the Hungarian constitution. A letter, written by one of these Conservative nobles, has recently appeared in the Berlin '*Constitutionelle Zeitung*,' dated the 8th of August, which places before the reader in the clearest light the present position of that class in Hungary who, previous to the events of last year, were considered the representatives of the Austrian policy in their own

country, who abstained from joining in the national movement, and were everywhere the avowed opponents of Kossuth :—

‘ Here, as everywhere, we had three parties—an Opposition, a Conservative, and a Reactionary party. The latter consisted, and still consists, of merely a small family junta, strangers to the nation at large, magnates who all their lives have squandered their Hungarian revenues in a foreign land, who are ignorant of the Hungarian language, and whose knowledge of their native country has been limited to the fact of its existence, and that it produces large quantities of wool, corn, and wine, bringing them in a revenue of some million florins. On this point the Princes Batthyany and Esterhazy in London are able to give better information. Other wealthy families have been entirely withdrawn from their native country by matrimonial alliances in Austria. The wife of Metternich is a daughter of Zichy Ferraris ; Metternich’s daughter, is married to a Count Sandor. This is the reason why some of the Hungarian magnates have been the supporters of a mere *family policy*. Lastly, there are certain privileged families who, allured by high office out of Hungary, have connived at the Metternich policy, and even allowed themselves to be employed as the tools of absolutism against their own country ; amongst these are the ministers Count Cziraky, Counts Mailath, Széchen (not Széchenyi), and Palfy. Properly speaking, these families alone formed the heart of the reactionary movement. I now proceed to the Conservatives in Hungary.

‘ To this powerful party, which commanded a large majority in the Chamber of Magnates, and for many years likewise in the Chamber of Deputies, Hungary owes her tranquillity for a long period past. They moderated the contentions of parties, and restricted them to parliamentary debate ; and it was these men who strove to lead and direct the development of the resources of Hungary by a peaceful course of action. Hence, our Conservative party aimed not merely at maintaining what was old, but keeping pace with the advance of civilization in modern times. The programme, published in 1847 by our Conservatives (at the head of whom were Count Stephen Szechenyi, and Count Emilius Desewffy), varies but little from the Opposition (Kossuth-Batthyany) programme, which was also drawn up previous to the last Pressburg Diet. It was solely a question as to the *means* to be employed that raised the barrier between the parties, and occasioned violent struggles both in the Diet and the provinces. The demands which the Opposition had for so long a period urged, were in no degree unjust ; they merely desired the *re-establishment of those ancient laws* which the king had ratified by oath in 1792, with such modifications as were called for by the times. Our objects were the same—the only difference being that we insisted upon our demands less vehemently, and were willing to give time to the Austrian Government to carry out these reforms. The best proof that we had no ulterior object was given by Count Stephen Szechenyi—latterly the head of the Conservatives—who entered the Kossuth-Batthyany ministry, until, unhappily, in October, he was visited with insanity, and was received into an asylum in Vienna.

‘ The Hungarian Diet was convened at Pressburg toward the end of

the year 1847. Kossuth was elected Deputy by the county of Pesth, and the Opposition gained strength; in March of the year 1848, the Conservative party nearly disappeared. The famous laws were proposed in a legal manner, unanimously, by the Deputies and the Chamber of Magnates. King Ferdinand went with the Court to Pressburg, ratified them by oath, and appointed the Batthyany-Kossuth ministry. The Conservative party broke up, and until October there existed, properly speaking, only one party in Hungary, with the exception of an insignificant opposition against Kossuth in the Diet at Pesth. All this was a *fait accompli*, and could not be undone.

‘After these events, the Austrian ministry did not conceive that there was any possibility of longer governing in a peaceable manner. At that time they might have gained over Kossuth, and through him the Diet, who would have taken upon themselves two hundred million florins of the national debt. Kossuth himself, inimical as he was to that country, had voted forty thousand troops for the Austrian service against a foreign enemy,—an act for which he was vehemently attacked by the Opposition. When the Emperor fled from Vienna to Innspruck, the old spirit broke out again in Hungary—“*Moriamur pro rege nostro!*”—and a deputation was sent to invite the king to Buda-Pesth, in the name of the Diet. The Court were so short-sighted as to refuse the invitation of the Majjars. The Austrian ministry committed one blunder after another, and upon *the invasion of the Ban Jellachich civil war broke out*. Batthyany repaired to Innspruck. A royal decree had *declared Jellachich a rebel*: while at the same time, but *in secret, the Ban was re-established in all his dignities* by the Austrian ministry. On the 2nd of September, the Minister, Latour, declared before the Austrian Diet, upon his word of honour, that he had no correspondence whatever with the Ban—the very day on which the Austrian ministry sent to Jellachich, as was subsequently proved, 150,000 florins, several batteries, &c., purposely to continue the war against Hungary.*

‘Such a policy naturally filled with indignation even the old Conservatives, who chiefly reside in Vienna and Baden. But we took no part in the war; we hoped that a new ministry in Vienna would adhere to the path of legality. Again we were deceived. In December, Windischgrätz refused the peace offered him by the Hungarians, and forced them to become “heroes.” Austria put the finishing stroke to her policy by calling the Russians into Transylvania; she resolved to annihilate Hungary at all cost. In consequence of this step, the Diet at Debreczin searched out that ancient law of the realm, which provides that, in case the king attempt to divide the country, or to incorporate it with his foreign possessions, he may be dethroned by the Diet. This law was acted upon on the 14th of April, and the measure was still further justified by the fact that Francis Joseph had not been inaugurated or crowned with the sacred crown.

‘But even then the old Conservative Hungarians in Vienna were

* The most authentic narrative of the occurrences in Vienna, connected with this period, is given by Berthold Auerbach, in a work, lately translated into English, which stands at the head of this article.

unwilling to break with Austria, hoping that the young Emperor would possess greater power and resolution than Ferdinand to resist the court intrigues, and to restore peace to Hungary—the first jewel of his Crown. All the efforts of the influential men of our party were, however, vain—the Russians appeared. The whole of Hungary became one great camp, and the most terrific national war for life or death ensued.

‘Let the reader imagine *our* position at Vienna. From loyal attachment to the Austrian government, we abstained from taking any part in the war. We were thus at variance with our own kindred, from a hope of serving the interests of our poor country, and bringing it peace. We never belonged to Kossuth’s party; and are now compelled, laying our hand upon our heart, to confess that the Austrian Government has violated not only the laws of 1848, but likewise the laws and duties which the possession of the sacred crown of St. Stephen has for upwards of a thousand years imposed, by openly avowing the intention of parcelling out Hungary into separate Austrian provinces, cutting off the Slovacks, Woiwodina, &c., from the rest of Hungary, and violating the integrity of the kingdom, ratified and secured as it is by the oaths of every succeeding king for centuries.

‘*The Conservative party can therefore retain its adhesion to Austria no longer*—by doing so, they would be traitors to themselves. The introduction of the *octroyée* constitution is impossible—nay, incompatible with the constitution of Hungary as it existed previous to March. The old Conservative party is thus compelled, after having gone hand in hand with the Austrian Government up to the last moment, to renounce its connexion.’

But the *charte octroyée* has aroused mistrust in all the states of Austria, of every party, not alone on grounds of political organization and personal freedom; new fears are daily awakening with regard to the guarantee of religious liberty which was proclaimed by that constitution. The legal disabilities still remain in force, which preclude the Protestants in the Tyrol and Croatia from the privilege of naturalization; whilst, on the other hand, in Lombardy, the Ligorians are once more introduced, and the superintendence of the schools in the Tyrol is again in the hands of the Jesuits. In Hungary, the Jewish communities are subjected to exorbitant penalties, irrespective of any question whether the individuals who compose them have, or have not, espoused the Hungarian cause; and the Austrian generals—one himself a Protestant, whose words we quote—publicly declared that the Hungarian revolution is properly a Protestant revolution, and that the Protestant schoolmasters and clergy are the most dangerous enemies of the Emperor. Such admissions as these naturally remind the Protestants in Hungary how, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, political agitation invariably served as a pretext for religious persecution, and how, since the time when Cardinal

Klesel, the prime minister of Rudolph II., first conceived the idea of establishing a system of centralization throughout the Austrian provinces, and made the emperor tear in pieces the Magna Charta of Bohemia, the project of the suppression of Protestantism has ever gone hand in hand with schemes of this nature. Philip II., of the House of Hapsburg, annihilated the provincial municipalities of Castile and Arragon, and attempted to suppress Protestantism in the Netherlands by fire and faggot, notwithstanding the outbreak of a long-protracted war, which was the consequence of his persecutions. Rudolph II. and Ferdinand II. annihilated the constitutions of Bohemia, Austria, and Styria, and expelled the Protestants from their possessions; the Thirty Years' War was the result. At the present moment the constitution of Hungary is again abolished; Klesel's schemes of centralization are revived; and a persecution against liberal ideas has commenced, the end of which it is not easy to discern, but the aim and tendency of which are already foreseen. What hope can there be of religious toleration, any more than of political good faith, from the Emperor Francis Joseph—the stripling pupil of the great protector of the Jesuits in Austria, Count Bombelles, and educated in the purlieus of the Camarilla of Vienna?

It is difficult, perhaps it would be unjust, to pass any decided opinion on the character and temper of the young emperor; nevertheless, that character will soon become of European importance, and must materially affect the great question at issue throughout the continent, determining whether the war of opinions now waging, not only in Hungary, but from Transylvania and the Po to the Rhine and the Baltic, shall be traced in blood, or settled by the only practicable, the only sure means—free popular government, founded upon free institutions, guaranteed, and guaranteed with good faith, by the rulers of the nations. It is well known that the Emperor Ferdinand, clouded as was his intellect, invariably met the proposition of Count Stadion to subvert the constitution of Hungary with the reply, 'My oath forbids.' No alternative was, therefore, left to the ministers and the Archduchess Sophia, but to depose the Emperor. It was a long time before they could prevail upon him to sign his abdication; and even the ministerial press at Olmütz could not conceal the fact, that this act had so shaken his frame as to bring on an illness. But when the announcement was made to the Archduke Francis Joseph, who had until then been treated almost as a child, that he was to succeed to the throne, he was so affected by the news (we give this, likewise, from the Olmütz Journal of December), that for three days he took no food, and the Archduchess Sophia was seriously alarmed for his health.

The first act on his accession, was virtually to cede his powers of sovereignty in Hungary, first to Windischgrätz, then to Welden, and subsequently to Haynau, who were in turn the *alter ego* of the sovereign—a transference of power which, in a constitutional country, is inconceivable unless ratified by the assent of the Diet. Jellachich even went so far, as of his own authority to proclaim himself Dictator, and to sign his proclamation with this title! The Emperor has, therefore, in reality, not yet assumed the reins of government. The Austrian empire finds its counterpart in that of Rome at its worst period; throughout its provinces, the country is ruled by the Camarilla and the Prætorians; and the destruction of towns, the political scaffold, and civil war, accompany, at the present day, as they have done in all times and countries, the reign of court intrigue and military despotism. The Emperor is now nineteen years of age; will he have the strength of mind to free himself from the faction who have placed him on the throne as a convenient instrument to promote their own designs? If he fail to do this, a 'Thirty Years' War may a second time be in store for Germany. The horizon of Europe is overcast with heavy clouds of doubt and peril: in Bavaria, where the Austrian intrigues against Prussia have found the most congenial soil, the doctrine is preached that religion is in danger, that the Prussians aim at the subversion of Catholicism, and that Austria is its sole protector. Thus, religious fanaticism is dragged into the movement, and it is but natural that the Protestants of Hungary should regard the success of Austria, in the present struggle, as the death-blow to religious liberty. We find no guarantee of this liberty in the constitution of the ministry; not a single minister, under-secretary of state, or head of a bureau, is a Protestant; and there appears to be quite as little chance that the provision in the new constitution which guarantees the free exercise of religion, will be carried into effect, as that any of the other promises will be realized. Five months have now passed since the constitution has been proclaimed, during which time the freedom of the press, and the security, by law, of person and property, have been abolished, and subjected to the arbitrary decrees of court-martials.

Let us mark well the contrast. Whilst in Austria confusion prevails in every department of the state, accompanied by a total disregard of all moral and political principles, by financial ruin and social disturbance, Hungary, on the contrary, has developed a strength, vigour, and internal resources unparalleled in any country that has struggled for its independence. We have seen the nation rising as one man—the German population in the county of Zips, the Sclovacks along the whole northern frontier, and the Majjars in the plains; armies arise, powder-mills, and

manufactories of arms spring up, and the combined forces of two powerful empires have been successfully resisted ; and all this is achieved without the slightest foreign assistance of any kind, without contracting any loan, without a friend or an ally. By her own internal strength, Hungary has for one whole year carried on the war, and borne its burdens, and surely no stronger proof can be given or required of the extent of her moral and material resources. The value and efficiency of the municipal institutions of Hungary have been tested and proved in this glorious struggle. Wherever they were unopposed, the Austrians superseded the popular civil officers ; but no sooner did the Imperial troops retire than the old county-constitution was revived ; the Austrian nominees were either appointed anew, or others were elected in their place ; whilst in all the popular assemblies the crusade for independence was preached, and guerillas were organized. But, even should the overwhelming force of numbers eventually prevail, Austria will never be able to retain or govern Hungary, unless she declare all Hungarians incapacitated from holding any public office in their native country, and, as was the case in Italy and Galicia, place the administration of the country exclusively in the hands of Germans and Bohemians. By her treacherous attempts to suppress the municipal institutions of Hungary, by the anxious fears which she awakened for the safety of religious freedom, by the barbarity of her generals, and the moral incapacity of her commissioners, Austria has snapped every tie of attachment and loyalty which connected Hungary with the House of Lorraine. She may, perhaps, with the aid of Russian hordes, reconquer the soil of Hungary, but she will never regain the hearts of its people. It is, moreover, a remarkable fact, that Austria has in no country been able to win the attachment of her subjects,—neither in Italy, Galicia, Bohemia, nor Hungary ; and, although she succeeded for a time in raising the Saxons in Transylvania, the Croats, and Servians, against the Hungarians, and using them as the instruments of her policy, yet even these nations turn away indignantly from Austria, when they see their municipal and local institutions threatened by her schemes of centralization.

In such a position, it may justly be asserted that the strength of Austria is broken ; for a nation whose power is alone supported by the bayonet—in which loyalty is converted into mistrust, and the attachment of the subject has everywhere given place to rooted aversion or open hostility—can no longer be said to afford any guarantee for a continuance of its existence, no pledge that it is longer able to preserve peace either within its own dominions, or to secure Europe from the evils of protracted convulsion. Hungary, on the contrary, has proved her ability to

maintain her independence ; the strength which she may lack in numbers, on the field, she has found in the union and energy of her population ; single-handed she is able to resist any single power, and a coalition almost unparalleled in the world's history can alone effect her overthrow. By her geographical position, a barrier against the encroachments of Russia toward the south ; in her commercial position, a rich agricultural country, offering to the nations of western Europe a new market of immense value, an exchange of her natural products for the manufactures of other countries ; in a political point of view, representing the spirit of liberty, enlightenment, and progress, Hungary has amply vindicated her claim to an honourable place in the family of European nations. To attain this position she has required not the material aid, but merely the moral support, of the free nations of Europe.

The ministry at Vienna, flushed with their first successes, turned a deaf ear to the prudent counsels of the English cabinet,—the more readily as they knew that the English nation deprecated the idea of a war, and gave a lukewarm support to the foreign policy of the ministry. Subsequently, when in March and April the Hungarians advanced victoriously up to the frontier, and the tide of success was turned, the Viennese Camarilla preferred to throw themselves recklessly into the arms of Russia, to adopting the advice of Lord Palmerston. The armies of Russia were considered to be irresistible, and in Vienna it was believed that by July the struggle would be terminated, not by compromise or concession, but by the sword. Russia promised her aid early in May, but her armies did not make their appearance until June, bringing in their train dissension among the commanders, jealousies among the troops, and the ravages of the cholera. The plans of the Imperialists to force the Hungarians to a decisive battle, in order to finish the war by two or three strokes, were frustrated by Görgey's bold and skilful manœuvres ; the Russians and Austrians advanced into the heart of Hungary, without encountering any serious resistance—traversing, but not conquering, the country.

We had proceeded thus far, when the astounding news reaches England, that General Görgey, with an army of 40,000 men, has surrendered to the Russians. The reports are, at this moment, too much obscured by doubt and contradiction, to be received without some mistrust ; but the main fact of Görgey's defection is sufficiently confirmed. We cannot, as yet, speculate on the consequences of this serious blow to the hopes of Hungary ; but, whether or no her liberties and independence be eventually suppressed, the consequences are fatal to Austria, and her hour of retribution will speedily arrive. Russia

may have conquered Hungary, but Austria will have to retain possession of the country—at a moment, too, when she is on the verge of national bankruptcy, and disaffection is spreading rapidly throughout all her provinces. The Imperial finances are daily becoming more and more embarrassed, and the Minister of Finance cannot even calculate the deficit in the revenue; for the armies in Hungary, unable any longer to provide for their wants, even by the use of paper money, have latterly been supported by forced levies on the inhabitants, for the value of which the receipt of a staff-officer is the only guarantee.

There appears to be but one means left of restoring stability to Austria's power in Hungary; the laws of the Diet of 1848, which Stadion and Windischgrätz declared to be incompatible with the integrity of the Austrian empire, must constitute the fundamental law of the kingdom, and the empire be re-constructed on a federative, instead of a centralized basis. The prudent adoption of this policy would, we believe, be the only means of arresting the growing disaffection in her provinces, and of restoring to Austria the power and position she has lost. Hungary, if suppressed, will only become a second Poland, but infinitely more dangerous—a perpetual cause of weakness, instead of strength; whereas, should the young Emperor see the evil of his ways, dismiss from his councils the present ministry, and turn an ear to reason and justice, he may yet keep together the tottering fabric of his state, and find in Hungary a source of renovation, strength, and support.

We cannot dismiss the subject of this article, without briefly adverting to the grounds of legality upon which the cause of Hungary rests. Constitutional right, derived from national heritage, and the guarantees of successive kings, from possession, and from the experience of past self-government, is entirely on the side of the Hungarians. Hungary never formed an integral part of the German empire, but was strictly independent, maintaining her own laws and constitution. When the Emperor Francis superseded the German empire by that of Austria, the position of Hungary remained unaffected by the change, and he himself declared that kingdom and its dependencies to remain in possession of their separate self-government. The declaration of independence, issued by the Hungarian Diet—a document of the highest constitutional interest and value—places the causes of the present war, and the deposition of the House of Hapsburg, in the clearest light, in calm, and dignified language.

The compact between Hungary and her king was virtually annulled by the Constitution of the 4th of March. The Emperor of Austria cannot now appeal to any covenant or law to sanc-

tion his claim to the crown of St. Stephen ; for every sanction was abrogated, every existing covenant was violated and set aside : the coronation oath of Ferdinand I. (1526), the establishment of the hereditary succession in 1687, the Pragmatic Sanction in 1723, all contain the distinct recognition of the independence of Hungary, and a guarantee that the laws, customs, and constitution of the nation shall be preserved inviolate. The Emperor of Austria has broken all these covenants, and has no longer the slightest claim to the crown of Hungary.

What was the conduct and attitude of Hungary when Austria thus forfeited her legal claim to the crown ? She was left without a sovereign, the nation was in a state of *interregnum*, and the Diet at Debreczén, scrupulously careful to commit no rash or unconstitutional act, simply declared the crown of Hungary *forfeited* by the House of Hapsburg, and the country left in a state of *interregnum*. The House of Lorraine was declared deposed, but not a word was hinted of a republic, nor was the crown even offered to any other prince. There was no difference of opinion, no question raised as to the form of government. Faithful to the time-honoured traditions of their nation, relying upon the right of their cause, which the constitution of Hungary, and the oaths of successive kings had for centuries guaranteed, the Diet simply nominated a governor of the realm during the *interregnum* ; and for this act, they had sufficient precedent—they in no degree departed from the ancient usages of the kingdom. When King Uladislaus was slain in battle, in 1444, his successor, Ladislaus Posthumus, was a child, and at that time abroad ; the government of the kingdom was, consequently, carried on precisely as it has been now—constitutionally—during the *interregnum*.

The first and chief care of the Diet was to organize the defensive strength of the nation, knowing that right alone was not sufficient at the present day. Even in the corrupt and selfish times of Louis XVI., the independence of the United States was recognised by France, and the noble-minded Marquis Lafayette devoted his fortune and services to the cause of freedom in a foreign country. Under Charles X. Greece was openly supported in her struggle for liberty, although every one was aware that the weakening the power of Turkey was a European calamity. But times are changed : the Hungarians knew too well that the selfish spirit of the present day has spread an apathy over the free countries of Europe, and lulled asleep their active sympathies for the common cause of humanity and freedom ; instead of looking to any external aid, they relied solely on their own national resources and courage ; they rose, prepared and ready, single-handed, to fight the battle of freedom,—not alone to achieve

their own independence but to secure the liberties of Europe at large, against the inroads of absolutism in its worst forms. They demanded no foreign aid, but merely protection against foreign aggression ; this would have afforded Hungary a moral support, and this she had a legal right to demand from all the free governments of the world. Had this neutrality been enforced, Hungary would now be independent.

We must say a few words on the claims of Hungary to recognition as an independent kingdom. Lord Palmerston recently declared in Parliament, that it is the custom and practice of the Government of England to recognise the independence of any country which has satisfactorily proved that it is entitled both *de jure* and *de facto* to such recognition. The *de jure* claims of Hungary to her independence are pretensions of no questionable shape ; their validity is clearer, and rests on a broader basis, than that even of the independence of the United States, or the existence of the French republic. Her rights stand upon a basis of constitutional legality, and not the least fatal effect of her iniquitous suppression will be the precedent it yields of the powerless inefficacy of law and national right, when weighed in the balance against a despot's sword. With regard to the *de facto* claim of Hungary to recognition, the mere fact that Austria was compelled to call in the aid of Russia is conclusive. Hungary, acting in simple defence of her liberties, defied and defeated the power of Austria, drove her armies out of the country, and at one time might have marched upon Vienna and made her own terms in the metropolis of the empire. Hungary had, in the amplest manner, *established* her independence before Russia interfered ; and Austria herself recognised this fact, when she practically declared, in the face of Europe, her inability to force the Hungarians into subjection. Lord Palmerston's declaration, to which we have alluded, acquires now a melancholy significance : it places the pretensions and the acts of the Government of England at variance. This country was bound, by her own declarations, as well as by every principle of international justice, and every claim of humanity, to have prevented the interference of Russia ; —not having done so, she has broken faith with Hungary ; she stands humiliated in the face of the world, weakened in her influence, and, as will speedily be seen, placed in imminent peril of a single-handed war. England, by refusing to recognise the independence of Hungary, or to protest against the acts of the Czar, morally participates in the intervention of Russia, and the responsibility of the consequences which may thence ensue. Neutrality on the part of England, *previous* to the aggression of Russia, was required by the law of nations ; a perseverance in neutrality *after* that aggression by Russia was an illegal sanc-

tion of a most illegal act. The very law which prescribed neutrality in the one case, as imperatively demanded interference in the other.

The following important announcement has just been published, on good authority, by the London press. We have heard it confirmed from other sources:—

‘*Berlin*, August 17.

‘I send you some particulars of the doings at Warsaw. In the first interview between Lamoricière, Schwartzberg, and the Russian Czar, a plan was broached for an alliance between France, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Naples, and the Pope. The coalition was to keep in view, as an ultimate aim, a war with England. The immediate object was to be the extinction of all the revolutionary elements. Turkey, Italy, the Rhenish Provinces, and Belgium, which is no longer to be tolerated, furnish materials for indemnification. Prussia is to have North Germany to the Maine; Austria, Bosnia, and South Germany, except Bavaria. Bavaria is to have Wirtemberg in exchange for the Rhenish province, which is to go to France with Cologne. Wirtemberg, Baden, Hesse, and other princes, are to be mediatized. Switzerland also to be divided. Chimerical as this may sound, still it formed the matter of discussion. Without drawing definite conclusions from this statement, it allows one to see with what kind of plans diplomatic heads are busied. The Czar took up “Alexander’s Journal,” and read out of it the conversation of that Emperor with Napoleon. Respecting Constantinople, nothing could be agreed upon. It was the Emperor’s notion that Byzantium might one day be left as a free city, with some territory. It was assumed that France, Russia, and Austria, with the help of Naples, would be competent to produce a fleet able to cope with that of England.’

The editor of the ‘Daily News’ adds, ‘We have reason to know that the projected alliance has for its object commercial, rather than warlike aggression against England.’

Let us turn to the free Government of the United States. In an official reply to an address from the New York Hungarian Association, praying for the recognition of Hungary, the Secretary of State, Mr. Clayton, uses these words:—‘The Government and the people of this country are profoundly interested in the events which are now passing in Hungary, and all information calculated to throw light on the present struggle between that country and Austria and Russia cannot fail to be welcome. It is the policy and practice of the United States to recognise all Governments which exhibit to the world convincing proofs of their power to maintain themselves. If Hungary sustains herself in this unequal contest, there is no reason why we should not recognise her independence. Congress, it is believed, would sanction such a measure, and this Government would be most

happy, in that event, to enter into commercial as well as diplomatic relations with independent Hungary.'

We repeat that the Hungarians had not only a claim beyond question or cavil, to recognition on the ground of *right*, but *had* 'exhibited to the world the most convincing proofs of their power to maintain themselves.' But the Government of the United States, following the example of England, has broken faith, both with Hungary and its own people, and not only cowardly abstained from lending its moral weight to the cause of legality, justice, and humanity, but passively seen the unholy aggression of Russia annihilate the independence and guaranteed liberties of a free country. What pretext, real or alleged, had Russia to invade Hungary, in contravention of all national rights? The Emperor Nicholas alleges in his manifesto, that the Hungarian war is brought about and supported by Poles, and that he cannot allow any rebellion in the neighbourhood of his states, lest the contagious spirit should seize upon them likewise. But for the facts of the case:—the Hungarian armies numbered nearly 200,000 men, of whom scarcely 4000 were Poles from the neighbouring province of Gallicia, with, at the most, 200 from the Russian provinces, driven across the frontier by oppression and conscription in their own country. Amongst the numerous staff of generals in the Hungarian armies, *three* are Poles. And, such are the impudent pretexts which the Emperor of Russia dares to put forth in the face of Europe for his direct infraction of the laws of nations! at the very time that nearly *one-fourth* of the officers in the Austrian armies are foreigners, including the commander-in-chief, Haynau. But who are the representatives of Russian absolutism?—themselves for the most part foreigners; and yet the Czar dares to justify his invasion of Hungary by the plea that Bem, Dembinsky, and Vetter are foreigners in the Hungarian service. 'Quis toleret Gracchos de seditione querentes!' The second pretext put forth by Russia is wholly illusory: the territory of Hungary at no point directly joins Russia, unless indeed the Czar regards Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia as Russian provinces. This assumption, by Nicholas, of a right to settle the disputes of foreign nations on the ground of fear lest a spirit of discontent should extend to his own dominions, is monstrous; why does he not carry out his principle, and declare himself dictator in the affairs of Prussia, Switzerland, France, and Italy, in which countries similar struggles have taken place, and radical constitutional reforms have been introduced? The only answer to this question is, that the time has scarcely yet arrived, the hour has not yet struck. France is manifestly bought by the Czar—sold by the President; the terms of the purchase are, in fact, publicly stated—and the

covert means have come to light by which the liberties and power of France, once the sister-guardian with England of popular freedom, is now converted into a degraded tool of Russian absolutism, and dragged into a crusade, which is but now *commencing*, against the liberties of Europe.

The Hungarians protracted the struggle in the vain hope that the justice of their cause would call forth some effectual remonstrance against the intervention of Russia; but when, at length, they saw the sworn determination of a coalition of princes to effect their overthrow, and on the other side, the tacit acquiescence of the people of Europe in their fall, a great portion of the Hungarian army surrendered to the Russians; probably, by this time, the entire forces of Hungary have laid down their arms.

What are the political consequences of this event? Austria has an immediate accession to her strength of more than 100,000 men, the flower of her armies, and is enabled to concentrate all her forces and attention on her projects in Germany and Italy. At the same time, the policy of Schwartzenberg threatens to destroy the balance of Europe, and to subvert all the existing relations of the continent, in a manner little agreeable either to princes or people, whilst Russia quietly assumes the protectorate of Hungary. The conduct of the Russian officers in Hungary contrasts with the revolting barbarity of the Austrians; and the fact that Görgey would surrender only to the former, indicates significantly that Russian policy has gained ground in Hungary, in proportion as Austria has lost her hold upon that country. Russia will claim the right, as she undoubtedly has the power, to settle the reorganization of Hungary; and it seems almost certain that Paskiewich, in his negotiations with Görgey, has offered to guarantee the integrity of that nation. The Hungarians henceforth will accustom themselves to seek their enemies in Vienna, their protectors in St. Petersburg. Russia, at present, not only rules over the principalities of the Danube, and the embouchures of that great river, but the whole middle Danube is in her hands.

The events of the past year terminate in strengthening incalculably the power of Russia, and destroying the influence of England and France,—in the suppression of anything like a true constitutional policy in Europe, and the extinction of liberty in Italy and Sicily, Germany and Hungary. Still there is one bright ray of hope amid the gloom—the abolition of feudal rights throughout Eastern Europe. The civil enfranchisement of the peasants in Hungary has been followed by the removal of all feudal restrictions upon the tenure of land, and, with a patriotic magnanimity which has scarcely a parallel in history, the nobles of Hungary have conceded of their own free will

privileges which have raised the peasant to a level with themselves. We call particular attention to the concluding portion of the following extract: it is taken from an able article on the tenure of land in Hungary, which appeared in the 'Examiner' of August 18th:—

' Since 1832, the efforts of the national Hungarian party have been directed not merely to remove the civil disabilities of the peasant, but to render the tenure of his land equivalent to freehold or noble tenure. Even long before this period, the same object had, in many instances, been effected by private contract between the landlord and his peasants; and, although not then sanctioned by the law of the land, such contracts were faithfully observed, and the *communes* where they prevailed were among the most flourishing in Hungary. . . .

' In the Diet of 1832-36, a law was passed declaring directly a qualified property of the peasant in his land, and sanctioning the plan of the *commune* coming to terms with the landlord, if both parties were willing. But this was not considered sufficient to meet the exigencies of the case. Some further advantages were conceded to the peasant by the Diet of 1839-40. In that of 1843-44, he was allowed to acquire freehold or noble property. In 1847, one of the main points of the programme put forth by the liberal party was the compulsory abolition of labour, rents, and dues, with indemnity to the parties interested. In November, 1847, the Diet was opened; and in December a motion was made in the Lower House to the above effect by Gabriel Lonyay, a great holder of manorial rights, and whose interests were consequently affected to a great extent by the proposed change. . . . The motion passed the Lower House by a large majority; and on the 4th of February, 1848, the Upper House. On the 11th of April, this, with other enactments, received the sanction of the sovereign (for at that time there *was* a legitimate king of Hungary), and thus a measure of the highest importance, which gave a great majority of the inhabitants an interest in the existing order of things, and which was opposed to the prejudices, and the immediate, though not the remote, interests of the legislative class, was brought into operation by constitutional means, with the same adherence to Parliamentary forms that is observed in passing a railway bill. The peasant thus became a freeholder, and that, too, without any payment from him for the redemption of his labour, rent, and services. The State charged itself with the indemnity to the landlords. At the same time, all class distinctions have been removed, and the peasant is now on a perfect level with the former nobles. No wonder that he is ready to shed his blood as freely as they are in defence of their common country. *The first act of the Commissioners of Prince Windischgrätz was an attempt to re-introduce these dues and services.* At present, the Austrian government makes specious promises of respecting this particular enactment, although it sweeps away, by the Charter of the 7th of March, the whole Hungarian constitution. But the Hungarian peasantry, Slovack, as well as Magyar, are perfectly capable of judging of the value to be attached to the promises of the Austrian government.'

The peasants, not only of Hungary, but of Bohemia, Silesia, and Gallicia, relieved from civil disabilities, and possessing free property, will form the germ of a healthy and independent race of men, able to maintain their families by honourable industry, and to give their children the blessings of education. The good seed thus sown will spring up and bear its fruit. In Hungary, the coming generation will cherish the traditions of their country, and the lessons of her past history will not be without their effect upon her future destinies.

We have endeavoured to fix the attention of our readers upon the most important causes of this great war of independence, and have not space to speculate further on its results. Some momentous questions, involved in this last consideration, we have abstained from touching upon,—especially the prospects of Turkey. Had Turkey boldly given Hungary her timely aid, her position would have been infinitely less perilous than it is at present. The road to Constantinople is now open to the Russians; it is a consideration which may soon occupy, when too late, the attention not only of the cabinet of the Porte, but that of England.

In conclusion, we shall only observe, that, of all the nations which have struggled for their liberties during the present century, none has fought in a more righteous and legal cause, none has evinced greater heroism and endurance—none has shown greater humanity and moderation in success, or more noble and dignified calmness under misfortune. Other nations have risen to gain their independence—Hungary has fought simply to defend her established liberties; others have striven to subvert an existing government—Hungary has expended her resources and blood in attempting to uphold her existing constitution. She has been deceived in expecting that her heroic efforts would have met at least with the moral support and sympathy of free countries, but history will render justice to the virtues and the heroic patriotism of her sons, and the name of Louis Kossuth will be registered with that of Washington.

Brief Notices.

Popery a System of Priestly Power; a Lecture delivered at a Meeting of the Scottish Association for Opposing Prevalent Errors, in Queen-street Hall, Edinburgh, March 28th, 1849. By John Eustace Giles. 8vo. Pp. 94. London: Partridge and Oakey.

THIS lecture was delivered, as the title-page indicates, at the request of the 'Scottish Association for Opposing Prevalent Errors'; and if it be a fair sample of the series, we can feel no hesitation in saying that the public have very rarely been so catered for, and will be great losers if the whole course be not issued through the press. We are not surprised at Mr. Giles having been urgently pressed to publish his lecture. Our Scottish brethren would have shown less than their usual discrimination if they had not preferred such a request. They honoured themselves in the honour done the lecturer, and greatly extended the sphere of their Society's usefulness by calling in the aid of the press.

The lecture is, in truth, a masterly performance, evincing an intimate knowledge of the system described, extensive acquaintance with history, a profound insight into the working of priestly power, great acuteness, combined with solidity of judgment and an honourable exemption from controversial trickery, largeness of view united to practical good sense and a sound standard of appeal. Considering the obvious tendency of some of our public measures, and the readiness with which our statesmen confound indifference with liberality, we know few topics more opportune than the one selected by Mr. Giles, and few men more competent to do justice to such a theme. The extensive circulation of his lecture cannot fail to be largely beneficial, and we are, therefore, glad to learn that the first edition, consisting, we believe, of two thousand copies, is already exhausted. The mode adopted by Mr. Giles, while it may have detracted somewhat from the immediate effect of the spoken lecture, adds greatly to the permanent value of his publication. 'He has been more anxious to state, fairly, the general principle and results of the system; to point out the necessary connexion between them, as well as the absurdity and falsehood in which they are founded; and, at the same time, to make good his position, at every step, by historical or documentary proof; than, by insulated facts, to create impressions which, though stronger for a time, are worthless in the end.' This is as it should be, and we commend the example to others. Mr. Giles's lecture has not suffered from his adherence to so equitable a rule, for we have rarely met with such freshness and vitality as it exhibits in combination with scriptural views and a manly eloquence.

A Hand-Book of Modern European Literature; for the use of Schools and Private Families. By Mrs. Foster. London: Longman & Co.

THE want of a work of this kind has long been felt, and our thanks are due to Mrs. Foster for having supplied it. The volume is divided, though not formally, into twelve chapters, which treat of Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, French, British, Polish, Hungarian, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, and Russian literature. The object of the work, as well as its size, precludes more than a very slight notice of the writers mentioned, which, however, so far as we have examined them, are distinguished by good sense, impartiality, and sound feeling. The extent of information indicated is great, and, without pledging ourselves to all the critiques furnished, we feel no hesitation in speaking of their general fairness and intelligence. 'It has been the compiler's view to comprise as much as possible in the smallest compass; and she begs leave to express a hope that, while this work may be found to contain sufficient information respecting the leading names in European literature to satisfy casual consultation, it may serve at once as a guide and stimulus to more minute and extensive investigations.' The usefulness of the volume is greatly increased by an extended index; and those for whose benefit it is specially intended will find little to complain of in the way of omission.

The Bible of Every Land. Parts III. IV. and V. London: Bagster.

THIS valuable work proceeds in a way that fully sustains the promise of the first numbers, and the repute of its publishers. These three parts contain the Medo-Persian and Sanscrit families; the details given under each head are interesting to scholars, and indeed to all who feel pleasure in the diffusion of the Scriptures. The specimens are elaborately executed, and the maps, showing the range of the various tongues, present much information in a form that appeals at once to the eye of the most hasty reader. Care in editing, and munificence in the supply of illustrations, are the characters of all the books by this publisher, whose well-earned fame the present work will materially enhance.

The Ultimate Design of the Christian Ministry. The Christian Ministry not a Priesthood. By T. Binney. London: Jackson and Walford.

THE former of these two discourses has been long before the public. The latter now appears for the first time in print. They are both full of impressive and striking thoughts on the Christian ministry, worth pondering by all who fill it. Mr. Binney's characteristic freshness of view and earnestness of spirit have seldom been more prominent, and assuredly never better employed, than in these little volumes, the former of which we have already noticed. More such speakers about the ministry would do something to rearing up more such speakers in the ministry; but to frown down all independent thought as 'neology,' and to lecture the Churches about the defects of their pastors, as some do, is not the way to improve the character of the Christian teachers of our day.

Discourses, Doctrinal and Practical. By the late Rev. R. Brodie, A.M.
Glasgow: Robertson. 1848.

WE cannot better characterise this volume than in the words of a biographical sketch which is prefixed to it. 'In the pulpit he magnified the salvation of Christ. It was because he believed that he spoke. It was no mere routine of catechetical doctrine with him. Nor was his the sincerity of a common mind. To a judgment naturally sound and discriminative, was added a scholarship of no common accomplishment.' The author was not original nor profound, but, evidently, by reading, had been made a full man, and was both able and anxious to have his hearers share in his knowledge and his faith.

Hints for the Times; or, the Religious of Sentiment, of Form, and of Feeling, contrasted with vital Godliness. By Rev. George Smith, M.A., Oxon, late Missionary to China. London: Hatchard and Son.

WE have strong suspicions that this treatise is a sermon masquerading under the disguise of an essay. We wish gentlemen who publish their pulpit addresses would not be ashamed to say so. The author, in an easy, flowing, somewhat too flowing style, contrasts evangelical religion with the perversions of it mentioned in the title, as a religion of the heart not of sentiment, of privilege not of form, of principle not of feeling. Do our readers see the appropriateness of these contrasts? If so, they may possibly like to pursue the investigation in the volume, which is, at all events, the work of a Christian man.

Moriah; or, Sketches of the Sacred Rites of Ancient Israel. By Rev. R. W. Fraser. Edinburgh: Oliphant and Sons.

THE author has a graphic pen, a sober judgment, and a Christian heart. These qualifications make his volume a very pleasant one for readers who want vivid pictures; an instructive one for persons who have only the common knowledge of its subject; and an edifying one for devout hearts.

Collections and Recollections of the late Mr. William Lincolne; with a Sketch of the Last Hours of Mrs. Lincolne. By one of their Sons. London: Ward and Co.

WE are met in the preface by a quiet assurance that this volume is only meant for interested parties, and needs, in order to be appreciated, that the 'veil which at present conceals the 'Dii Penates' should be lifted up. We are further told, 'if one page has nothing to your taste, presume that one was never meant for you—pass on.' We can only say that, obeying this injunction, we very soon reached the last page. As we are forbidden to criticise, we would respectfully hint to the author, and all whose affection prompts them to put in print records of good men's lives, deeply touching to themselves—that, in the matter

of such biographies, there are but two classes of readers, those who knew the man and do not need the book, and those who did not know him and do not desire to do so. It is mistaken regard for the dead to give uninterested lookers-on an opportunity of wearying over incidents which loving friends treasure in their hearts. 'Favete linguis' was a significant expression for silence.

The Book of Revelation. Translated from the ancient Greek Text.
By S. P. Tregelles. London: Bagster and Sons.

IN 1844 Mr. Tregelles published the Greek text of the Apocalypse from the ancient authorities, known to critical readers as the 'Codices Alexandrinus, Basilianus, and Ephremi,' along with a critical introduction and the translation, which is now reprinted separately, with a few alterations, principally in the direction of a still more rigid adherence to these authorities. The present volume is intended for popular use, and is to be judged of simply as a translation, in which character we can speak of it in high terms.

Most of our readers interested in such pursuits, are aware that our author has in contemplation a critical edition of the New Testament, for which he has been making preparations for ten years; the principle of which is to be 'the text on the authority of the oldest MSS. and versions, so as to present, as far as possible, the text commonly received in the fourth century.'

Conversations on British Church History; adapted to Youth. By J. K. Foster, late President Tutor at Cheshunt College. London: Ward and Co.

In this volume some of the more important events in the history of Christianity in Britain are narrated in an interesting way. It is intended to awaken desire for further information, which we hope the author will furnish to his young readers in somewhat of the same style. It is simple, and fit for children, without being childish.

Home among Strangers. A Tale, by Maria Hutchins Callcott. Two Vols. London: Longman and Co.

THERE have been so many tales of the miseries of governess-life lately, that we were somewhat alarmed by the first glance at these two volumes. Their object, however, is not so much to excite compassion for a class, as to show to that class that Christian principle is the best way of overcoming the difficulties of their profession. The author writes unaffectedly, and without exaggeration, in an admirable spirit, and with much good sense and delicacy; but does not always remember that it is possible to be simple without being tame. People need not always creep with as little animation as if they were at a funeral, because they do not choose to dance.

The Excellent Glory ; or, the Internal Evidences of Christianity Illustrated. By John Aldis. London : Aylott and Jones.

THE course of argument pursued in this volume presents, in a pleasing popular style, a large amount of valuable matter. Mr. Aldis, after a few remarks on the general subject of the evidences of Christianity, points out that the objection of credulity recoils on all who repose in scientific conclusions, without personal verification of the process by which they have been reached. He notices also the difficulties with which Christianity has had to contend, and, from the fact of its existence after them, argues its divine origin. The characters of the early teachers are then shown, to render the idea of deception impossible. The peculiarities of the gospel as a system embracing miracles, a remedy for sin, and an ideal of humanity, and as being essentially spiritual, are next presented ; and then follows a series of chapters on its effects in humility, beneficence, holiness,—and one having for its object to show that the great proof for each is individual experience. Our readers will see the general character and value of the volume from this analysis, and we need only add that, although there is not much appearance of the author's having thought it necessary to advert to the new forms under which the attack on Christianity seems preparing, yet for what is at present the popular infidelity of England, this work is well adapted. The style is interesting from its fulness and rapidity. It has abundance of point and beauty. Perhaps, in a book, and that on an argumentative subject, a little more compression and the sacrifice of some pulpit reminiscences, would have been no disadvantage as far as regards compactness and force.

The History of France, from the Earliest Period to the Revolution of 1840. For the use of young Persons and Schools. Edited by Rev. John Sedgwick, M.A. London : Longman and Co.

As a correct abridgment of the History of France, this work would be valuable in schools, where it could be used simply as a text-book, the teacher filling up the bare outline given ; but without such assistance it must be felt to be a dry compression of the political history of the country in the old Goldsmith style. It deserves praise for accuracy, so far as it goes.

A Memoir of Mrs. Elizabeth Long, &c. London : Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

A HUSBAND'S hand is here employed in raising a memorial to a wife, whose cheerful, humble piety, is portrayed with a delicate, tender hand, in such a way as that many others will understand and sympathize with his sorrow. We have rarely met with a volume of biography where the high expressions of admiration and love which the writer uses, have so fully carried the reader along with them.

The Unveiling of the Everlasting Gospel; with the Scripture Philosophy of Happiness, Holiness, and Spiritual Power. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

THE author of this volume has somewhat erred in his estimate of the current theological opinions, when he fancied that to advocate the doctrine of an universal atonement—Christ dying for all men, in order that they might be saved (understanding by that, something more than deliverance from punishment)—is to unveil a long-lost truth. While, however, we cannot find anything here to warrant the title, or the similar spirit that pervades the volume, we find much to show deep, earnest conviction, and a very considerable power of impressively presenting the truth, as the result of that conviction.

Christ receiving Sinners. By Rev. John Cumming, D.D., &c. London: Shaw.

THE prominent characteristic of Dr. Cumming's mind seems to be a very lively imagination, fed by a boundless desire to say something striking. It is exhibited in all its force in this volume—an exposition of the parables of the 'Lost Sheep,' the 'Lost Coin,' and the 'Prodigal Son,' in which there is a great deal of truth, and an apparent sincerity and earnestness very praiseworthy. But to our minds the strange unnatural union which all the author's writings exhibit between sayings, homely almost to vulgarity, and others fine to tawdriness, mars the effect of the whole, and must be the result either of extraordinary want of taste, or of great affectation.

A Guide to the Scientific Knowledge of Things Familiar. By Rev. Dr. Brewer, Head Master of King's College School, Norwich. London: Jarrold and Sons.

THIS is a school-book on a good plan, well executed. The intention is to explain, in simple language, about 2,000 of the questions which children are very fond of asking, touching the why of every-day phenomena—and which parents who cannot answer are very fond of setting aside as silly questions. The familiarity of the questions is their recommendation, and, so far as we have examined, the answers and the selection of subjects are very good.

Theory and Practice combined; an Easy and Systematic Method of acquiring the French Language, &c. By J. N. Vlieland. London: Jarrold and Sons.

THIS seems a very good, well-arranged grammar, with some useful tables of idioms and other matters. We should have thought there were many things which the world wanted more than it does another French Grammar. We hope the author may not find it so.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

King Arthur. By Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, Author of the New Timon. Second Edition.

Illustrations of the Divine in Christianity. A series of Discourses, exhibiting Views of the Truth, Spirit, and practical Value of the Gospel. By Rev. J. R. Beard, D.D.

The Physiology of Digestion considered with relation to the Principles of Dietetics. By Andrew Combe, M.D. Ninth Edition. Edited and adapted to the present State of Physiological and Chemical Science, by James Cox, M.D.

The Curse removed. A Letter to the Manufacturers of Manchester, on the State and Prospects of England. By a Citizen of Edinburgh.

A Discourse, occasioned by the Death of the Rev. John Styles, D.D., preached at Foleshill, and at Birmingham, before the Warwickshire Association of Ministers, and published at their request. By John Sibree.

The Works of Francis Rabelais. Translated from the French. By Sir Thomas Urquhart and Motteux; with explanatory Notes, by Duchat, Ozell, and others. A new Edition, revised, and with additional Notes. Two vols.

A Hand-Book of Modern European Literature. For the use of Schools and private Families. By Mrs. Foster.

The History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace, 1815—1845. Part VIII.

The National Cyclopædia of Useful Knowledge. Part XXXI.

Our Scottish Clergy, Fifty-six Sketches, Biographical, Theological, and Critical, including Clergymen of all Denominations. Edited by John Smith, A.M. Second Series.

Studies on First Principles. By James Baldwin Brown, A.B., London. With a Preface, by Rev. Thos. Binney.

Discourses and Devotional Services. By Russell Lant Carpenter, B.A.

Volume Eight of Posthumous Works of Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D.D. By Rev. Wm. Hanna.

Critical History and Defence of the Old Testament Canon. By Moses Stuart. With an Introduction and Notes, by Samuel Davidson, D.D.

The Moderate Monarchy, or Principles of the British Constitution, described in a Narrative of the Life and Maxims of Alfred the Great and his Councilors, from the German of Albert V. Halla, to which are added Notes and Commentaries on the present State of the British Constitution. By Francis Steinetz.

Sketches of Character, and other Pieces, in verse. By Anna H. Potts.

The Christian Life, a Manual of Sacred Verse. By Robert Montgomery, M.A.

The Religious Ideas. By W. J. Fox, M.P.

Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the General Epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude. By the Rev. Albert Barnes. Carefully revised and compared with the last American Edition. By the Rev. John Cumming, D.D.

Six Lectures on the Philosophy of Mesmerism. By the Rev. John Boven Dods.